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ON THE
UNITY AND ORDER
OF THE
EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL
TO
THE CHURCHES.

BY THE
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Ἄλλ' οὕτω τινὲς αὐτὸν ἀγνοοῦσιν, ὥς μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰδέναι σαφῶς. τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται, οὐ παρὰ ἀμαθίαν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συνεχῶς ὁμιλεῖν τῷ μακαρίῳ τούτῳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὅσαπερ ἴσμεν, εἵπερ τινὰ ἴσμεν, δι' εὐφυσίαν καὶ ὀξύτητα διανοίας ἐπιστάμεθα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ συνεχῶς ἔχεισθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ σφόδρα διακεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτόν μηδεὶς δὲ περίεργον τοῦτον ἡγείσθω τὸν πόνον, μηδὲ περιεργίας περιττῆς τὴν τοιαύτην ἔρευναν. συντελεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰ ζητούμενα οὐ μικρὸν ὁ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν χρόνος. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς.

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LISTY AND ORDER

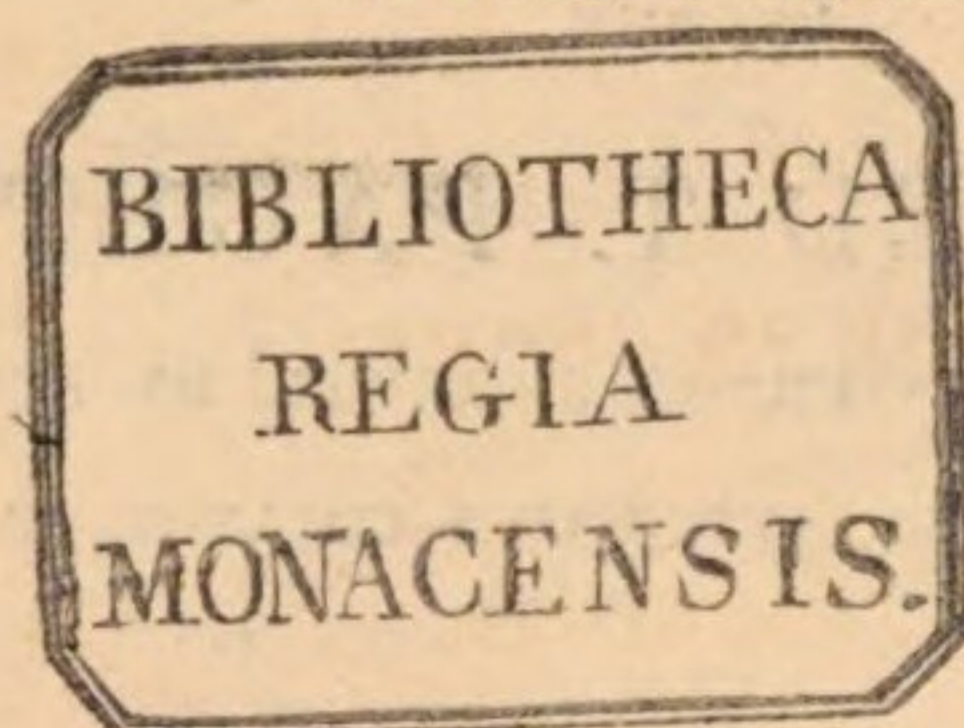
LISTS OF ST. PAUL

THE CHURCHES

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FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,

1851

TO THE
REV. THE MASTER,
AND TO THE
FELLOWS OF GONVILL AND CAIUS COLLEGE,

This Dissertation
ON THE UNITY AND ORDER OF THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL
TO THE CHURCHES,
IS INSCRIBED,

BY
THE WENDY FELLOW.

STAT. COLL. DE GON. ET CAIUS PER R. P. WM.
BATEMAN.

2. *De Obedientia et Gestu Sociorum.*

. . . . aliquod sophisma problema vel quæstionem theologiae disputent.

PREFACE.

THE sum of what it is proposed, in the following pages, to render probable is:—that the Epistles of St. Paul to the Churches are one system; that the order of their composition is discoverable from their logical order as parts of such a system; that their order thus indicated, is, 1st. The Epistle to the Hebrews; 2nd. Those to the Corinthians and Thessalonians; 3rd. That to the Galatians; 4th. That to the Romans; 5th. Those to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians.

The construction of such a system may have been accomplished in either of several ways. Either, the detached labours of the same principal actor in one great struggle were providentially ordered to form a consistent and self-elucidating whole; or, the Apostle, ever narrowly watching the effects of his teaching, and all the turning-points of the controversy in which he was engaged, himself designed that each succeeding letter should throw a light on the preceding, and should dispel whatever errors had arisen through misinterpretation; or, one great purpose, the development of Christianity out of Judaism, binding together the whole mass of this correspondence, the epistolary argument was to be only casually and subordinately diverted from

this purpose, by the events of St. Paul's ministry at Corinth and elsewhere.

Whichever supposition we take, certain conclusions will be the same. If the Epistles of St. Paul form one system, their common object must be considered in the interpretation of them all. If the order of their composition can be discovered, the interpretation of each must be consistent with its relation to those that preceded it in the series. If it should appear that the Epistle to the Hebrews is a member, or even the principal member, of such a series, then will be furnished, what to the minds of many seems necessary, a much better evidence than has yet been adduced, that that Epistle was written by St. Paul.

It may be hoped that the importance of these conclusions will be sufficient to engage the reader in the consideration of the grounds by which the premisses are sustained. Yet a few preliminary words may be requisite, lest he should turn away at once, with the disrelish he must naturally feel for an argument maintaining something new, in a subject in which novelty may seem out of place.

There is, indeed, nothing new in supposing St. Paul's Epistles to form a connected system; but the principle that they do so has not, I think, been regarded as the chief and best test for determining the order in which they were written. Yet, surely, if the Apostle designed such a system in the composition of his Epistles, or if letters of different dates were over-ruled by the Divine Providence to bear, in an orderly manner, upon the same argument, we may be able to discern in them, not merely evidences of their design, but some indications of the order in which the several parts thereof were accomplished. If we can discover a logical sequence in any argument enforced by the Apostle in several or all of these Epistles, this sequence may prove not only the unity of design that pervades them all, but the relation in regard to date, which they bear to each

other : it may prove both the existence of the system and the relative positions of its members.

The first steps of this investigation were made in no higher expectation than that of discovering the dates of certain Epistles. It was thought that a person's letters, if every other trace of the periods in which they were severally written had been lost, might still be brought into some arrangement, by considering the topics introduced into them ; and that where the order of the events related was unknown, it might yet be assumed that those letters which introduced the same topic, in much the same language, were more nearly of the same date. If, in studying such letters, one chain of argument were found throughout certain of them, and not in others, those might form a group or packet separate from the rest. The question of the order of writing would be thus simplified by division, and the general order might be afterwards settled by the connexion of the groups.

It was under these general impressions, concerning all masses of correspondence, that, when the Epistles of St. Paul were searched, the subjects which entered into them appeared to admit of arrangement in the following principal classes : 1st, uncontroverted Christian doctrines ; 2nd, the controversial topic of some time or place ; 3rd, metaphorical illustrations ; 4th, local or personal circumstances, distinctly fixing the date or dictating the whole composition of a letter ; and 5th, references to less prominent events, names of places or persons incidentally appearing, and salutations of casual companions.

In the endeavour to use these several classes of the subjects for the proposed inquiry, it was soon found necessary to rely on comparisons of those of the first three classes. Subjects of the fourth class are scarcely to be found in any of the Epistles ; there is indeed but one such patent and

obvious reference to events as we can use in the ensuing investigation, and from this, accordingly, we assume the priority of the Epistles to Corinth before that to Rome¹. There would be a wide difference of value between such references, if they did occur, and the subjects of the fifth class. We may not estimate alike the express and positive declaration of the times of successive events, and any calculation based upon names and circumstances, which may be ambiguous from the mode of their introduction, or the brevity of what is to us an accidental reference. It has been too commonly attempted to settle the whole question of the order and dates of St. Paul's Epistles, by the incidental names and addresses contained in them. As it is not intended to follow this method, there is no occasion to point out the mutually contradictory results derived from it. The true use of the names of persons and places casually referred to, of the salutations and addresses of the Epistles, in such an inquiry as this, is found when they are regarded as tests of the accuracy of dates otherwise suggested.

In the employment of the subjects of the first three classes, for suggestions of the order and date of the Epistles, the several Epistles to the Churches had to be grouped, and the order of those in each group to be investigated, by examining how some argument common to the whole was in each conducted; how some metaphor used in all was in each applied; how some doctrine, taught in one, was in others made the ground of practice; how some truth, taught as to the whole Church in one Epistle, was in another explained or restated to a single Church.

In this search, it was not necessary to adopt a new principle of inquiry. Locke maintained, that the best method of studying an Epistle was to read it as a whole. It was but an extension of this principle to maintain, that the best method of studying the whole of the Epistles is to read

¹ See page 108.

them as a whole. It was by thus reading them, and by marking instances in which the main theme of one Epistle appears among the subordinate topics of another, that I was led to the opinion that they were written in the order in which they are enumerated above. Basing this order upon the single ground of preserving the consistency of the system which the Epistles appeared to form, I was led to the hypothesis (and herein, I believe, is the chief novelty), that the Epistle to the Hebrews was the first of those that St. Paul wrote; and that having in this Epistle indicted a general summary of Christian doctrine for the edification of the whole Church, he afterwards, in his Epistles to individual Churches, enforced or expanded, completed or applied, one or more of the arguments of his First Epistle, according to their several needs, and in adaptation to the errors or uncertainties in doctrine or in practice, which, in successive periods of his ministry, became prevalent. The evidence for this hypothesis will appear in the following pages, of which a principal feature will be to show, that the main themes of other Epistles are included among the subordinate topics of the Epistle to the Hebrews, so often, and in such a manner, as could scarcely have happened, unless that Epistle had been, as it were, the primer of the Apostle's teaching.

I cannot but think that the order of all the Epistles here suggested would have been generally maintained, but for the doubts concerning the position, and even the authorship, of that to the Hebrews. Those who have believed it to be St. Paul's, have yet hesitated to make it prominent among his Epistles. Locke received it as St. Paul's; yet he does not paraphrase it with the rest: Paley also disembarrasses himself of it, in order to clear or strengthen the argument of the "*Horæ Paulinæ*." It is as if these and other eminent men had yielded to that infirmity of our minds in which,

when we are in any doubt whether an important statement or profession is or is not true, we either refuse to decide, or, if we decide in the affirmative, try to make some allowance for our doubt, by persuading ourselves that the thing has less importance than it seemed to have: we make the thing professed subordinate, as if this were something intermediate between its being genuine or false. Now, the Epistle to the Hebrews either is or is not St. Paul's; if it is (and the following pages will afford, I believe, as much evidence as can be reasonably required to prove it so), its position and importance in relation to the rest must be considered as if no such doubt has ever existed; the question of genuineness has no bearing on the question of position if genuine, however much the question of the Epistle's genuineness has been affected by the assumption of its late position.

Mr. Forster, in his work on "The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews," is content to accept the commonly received views of the lateness of this Epistle, even while he furnishes, in his admirably discussed parallels, some of the strongest evidence in favour of the opposite conclusion which determines the order here assumed. So close, indeed, does the connexion of the Epistle to the Hebrews with all the rest appear, that I believe the admission of its priority will tend to remove many of the numerous ambiguities of style, and to explain or fill up many of the omissions and interruptions, which are the favourite subjects of complaint with commentators on St. Paul. Without the Epistle as an already admitted standard of Christian doctrine, all the rest seem incomplete, fragmentary, irregular; but, admitting it as the principal member of the system, the mutual bearings of the other members may be equalized, and their seeming irregularities reduced to order. So, if I may borrow a simile from a late discovery, the planet Neptune was found by means of ir-

regularities observed in the motions of another planet. Now, such perturbations in the course of the Apostle's argument are discovered and lamented in every one of his acknowledged Epistles. Is not then, the existence of another Epistle necessary to account for them? Have not the place and attraction of that Epistle been defined, while its existence as a genuine Epistle has not been fully recognized? Are not the marks of its whereabouts such as to identify it when named? Is it not part of a system? Is it not St. Paul's? Is it not the very sun and centre of St. Paul's system? And are not its arguments sufficiently direct to account for the wanderings of the rest? There is a mutual attraction between all the acknowledged Epistles, and all, according to certain laws, seem to gravitate to the Hebrews.

It would be tedious, and of little use, to enumerate the several subordinate principles according to which the inquiry has been conducted, or the various grounds on which the position of each Epistle has been assigned. Of the value of these the reader must judge; and according to his estimate of their exemplification, must be his judgment of the whole hypothesis. Often in the course of the argument, conclusions will seem to be drawn from very slender evidences; but the nature of the inquiry renders this unavoidable: if great probability is to be attained in such an investigation as this, it can be only by cumulative evidence and numerous minute analyses. The total value of such evidences is always difficult to estimate; the argument supported by them always difficult to sustain, and often so wearisome, that I could not hope for the attention of a reader, if the object in view were only to determine a question of mere intellectual or historic interest. But I am persuaded that the inquiry may have a far more important issue; and it may serve to justify my own labours in it, and

to obtain some prejudice in their favour, if I enumerate some of the results, of which the anticipation encouraged me, and which, while I feel far from having securely apprehended them, I am yet sure would follow a more able and complete investigation of the subject.

First, If we were assured of the system of the Epistles, we should possess better and more simple rules of translation and comparison of passages.

For if the Epistles of St. Paul be one system, the same word should always have the same translation; or, when it requires a different one, the reason for the difference should be sought in some intermediate argument, or should be traced up to that Epistle which is said to be the more Grecian¹. Thus only will the lexicon make St. Paul his own interpreter.

The grouping of passages, as corresponding members of the parts of one great whole, would enable us to be sure of not wandering far from the right sense in any individual passage: as in a map of a country, a place not marked down cannot, we know, be very far from a more important well-known spot. Such certainty is unattainable if the Epistles be regarded as severally independent, like a heap of fragments.

If the epistolary system were established, what is called parallelism might be more properly studied as points of contact, and the contact of one pair of passages might be estimated as by one or more degrees nearer than that of others: thus, marginal references might mark whether they refer to a prior proposition of the same writer or to a later deduction.

Secondly, The knowledge of St. Paul's epistolary system would enable us better to disarm the half-scepticism and the

¹ ἑλληνικωτέρα, Origen's expression regarding the Hebrews, reported by Eusebius, and so often quoted since.

hypercritical temper which has sought support in them. While men can think his scheme incomplete, and talk of missing Epistles, less confidence is felt in the sufficiency of those we possess. The preservation of a whole seems to befit a Divine Revelation.

Such hypercriticism too, as requires St. Paul's formulæ of citation of Scripture to be identical, ought to be satisfied, if the diversities of citation are shown consistent with a single plan pervading all the Epistles.

If, in fact, every ambiguous word could be shown as a point of transition from the previous to the subsequent context, most of the doubts still left as to the more probable meaning of St. Paul's words would vanish. Before agreement in theological opinions can ensue, we must agree to the order in which to read the propositions of our Sum of Theology. So, if we know the relation of an opinion to the epistolary argument, we can in general trace to another order the motives for the contradictory conclusion.

And, *Thirdly*, the knowledge here sought should give us a more just appreciation of the work and doctrine of the Apostle, a more perfect biography of the great Bishop of the Gentile Churches; for in his Epistles he is seen to the life, earnestly and affectionately conducting a diocese of souls. Wonderful is that vigilance, which is present every where, bringing all into one view; wonderful that caution which can so approach an offender as to secure the warning to the whole Church, without so much as naming a reconciled penitent.

Thus, it is not merely out of curiosity, or for its historical interest, that the investigation into the order of St. Paul's Epistles is to be pursued. The most probable chronology of the Epistles will be the best guide to their true sense, and will supply the best rules for interpreting the whole series; and I may venture to hope that, even to those readers who shall be least satisfied with my hypothetical

order, or to whom the question of the epistolary series may seem least important, the evidence I adduce for it may be useful for other ends: as, for showing the perfect consistency and mutual support of all the Epistles, and of that to the Hebrews with the rest; for supplying numerous instances of parallels, where only distant relations had before appeared; and for removing or explaining some of the difficulties and ambiguities which “they that are unlearned and unstable wrest to their own destruction.”

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ON THE UNITY AND ORDER

OF

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS AND THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THE first suggestion, as to the order of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Churches, may be derived from the entire structure of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, as compared with that to the Hebrews.

I. In 1 Cor. v. 9, we find ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. It is possible, therefore, that St. Paul wrote a letter either to the Corinthians alone, or to them in common with others, previous to the one known as the first to the Corinthians. If there can be found to have been one, and that, such an one as could be pre-eminently distinguished as "*the letter*," this interpretation would be preferable to the authorized version, "I wrote unto you in *an* epistle," or to the other which has been proposed, "I have written to you in *this* epistle." But, if there were such a letter, all the extant epistles are excluded from being that first one, by their appropriate addresses, except the Epistle to the Hebrews, the title of which is traditionally given, but is general and indefinite as to locality.

II. The First Epistle to the Corinthians is, in such a measure, Catholic, as no other of St. Paul's epistles, unless that to the Hebrews, can be proved to be. Thus, 1 Cor. i. 2,

“Unto the Church of God, which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, *with all that in every place* call upon the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, *both theirs and ours.*” And if both these Epistles are, in a measure, Catholic beyond any other of St. Paul’s Epistles, it will be an additional evidence of their connexion if a particular vice, against which the Church is warned in the Epistle to the Hebrews, be the same with that which forms the local topic to the Corinthians.

In this view compare Heb. xii. 15, 16, with 1 Cor. v. 1. 9—11.

“Looking diligently lest any man fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled; lest there be any fornicator or profane person, as Esau, who, for one morsel of meat, sold his birthright.” Heb. xii. 15, 16.

“It is commonly reported that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father’s wife I wrote unto you in an epistle (ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ) not to company with fornicators, yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world,” &c.

“But now I have written unto you not to keep company if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator or covetous, &c., with such an one, no, not to eat.” 1 Cor. vi. 9—11.

From the passage in the Epistle to the Corinthians, we might suppose that St. Paul had written a former letter, cautioning them against being mixed up with fornicating brethren, and now pointed out that his emphasis lay in the

word *brethren*. In that to the Hebrews, we find a fornicator pointed out, and that one a brother, and a caution added lest many be defiled.

III. These coincidences would be too slight to justify a suggestion as to the relation between the Hebrews and 1 Corinthians, but that they occupy much ground in one at least of these Epistles. The passage in that to the Hebrews divides itself into the two distinct charges, πόρνος ἢ βέβηλος, “fornicator or profane person.” In the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chapters v. vi. vii. relate to the πόρνος, and are followed by two chapters, whose subject is the βέβηλος, who eats the meat of idolatry and profanes his brotherhood.

In these places, we find the vicious conduct of one member, at least, of the Corinthian Church become matter of common report, and this wicked person required by the Apostle to be judged by his Christian brethren, and put away from among them. The Apostle pursues his rebukes against the sin of fornication into a second chapter, and in a third treats of marriage as a remedy against it. At the end of this, the seventh chapter of 1 Corinthians, the topic of discourse is at once changed to an inquiry whether things offered unto idols may or may not be eaten by Christians. St. Paul decides the case put to him in the letter which had been written from the Church of Corinth¹, by allowing “an idol is nothing in the world;” but, at the same time, he advises that no Christian put the stumbling-block of being seen eating in the idol’s temple, in his weaker brother’s way. And the Apostle adduces his own example of self-support as one he desired to see generally followed; claiming the “power to eat and to drink,” but, if meat make his brother to offend, not caring to eat flesh while the world standeth.

Here, then, is a coincidence, in that the sins which are

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 1.

coupled together in the Epistle to the Hebrews are the same with those referred to in the letter from Corinth to St. Paul, and with those of which the consideration occupies a large space in St. Paul's reply to that Church. It is such a coincidence as may strengthen the already suggested supposition, that the Corinthians had received or read a former letter from St. Paul, and that letter the one now known as the Epistle to the Hebrews.

IV. Now, from this one sentence to the Hebrews, forming as it does an epitome of five consecutive chapters to the Corinthians, it is, at least, evident that these Epistles bear a marked resemblance to each other in a local topic. But, if the whole structure of the Epistle to the Corinthians be found laid open in a single passage to the Hebrews, another and very powerful argument will be supplied for the belief that one of these Epistles is supplemental to the other. Let, then, these passages be compared:—

Heb. v. 12, &c.

“For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat.

“For every one that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness: for he is a babe.

“But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full

1 Cor. iii. 1, &c.

“And I brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able, for ye are yet carnal,” &c.

age, even to those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."

Heb. vi. 1, &c.

"Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection ;

"Not laying again the foundation

(a) of repentance from dead works,

(b) and of faith towards God,

(a) of the doctrine of baptisms,

(β) and of laying on of hands,

(γ) and of resurrection of the dead,

(c) and of eternal judgment.

"And this will we do, if God permit."

x. 1. "Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized." (a)

xii. 1. "Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant." (β)

xv. 1. 3, 4. "Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you ; . . . for I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins ; . . . and that he rose again the third day." (γ)

V. The comparison of these extracts leads to the conclusion, that the First Epistle to the Corinthians is supplemental to the Epistle to the Hebrews in doctrinal topics.

In the first place, higher subjects, which in the Epistle to the Corinthians are avoided as "meat," are mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews under the same title, "strong meat." And, in the second place, those fundamental doctrines which both Epistles call "milk for babes," the Hebrews enumerates but leaves, and the Corinthians discusses at length and in the same order.

This is evidently the case with the subjects marked (*a*) (*β*) (*γ*), which fill the six chapters before the last of 1 Corinthians. Are the rest also to be found in the same Epistle? Probably the first two. For let it be remarked that, in the case of the subjects marked (*a*) (*β*) (*γ*), the discussion of them begins in general terms, and goes off into particulars and local exemplifications: these first principles, after being discussed in the abstract, are brought to bear upon the topic of the day. But in the case of the first two (*a*), (*b*), the subjects seem to be discussed, not in the abstract at all, but immediately, and only as the occasion called forth. "Repentance from dead works" has a suitable representative in the fornicator to be brought to compunction; and "faith towards God" is as well exemplified in the question of eating or not eating meat offered to idols. These two subjects occur in the order which is appropriate to the supposition that the Epistle to the Corinthians is supplemental to that to the Hebrews, and fill up the remainder of the Epistle to Corinth, from the third chapter to the ninth. Of the last subject named in the Hebrews (*c*), "eternal judgment," we have no mention in the Epistle to the Corinthians; and this omission remains to be accounted for: but, with this excess in the enumeration of Christian principles, we have found in the Epistle to the Hebrews an abstract of the whole of the contents, and a

plan of the construction, of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. It is scarcely possible that this could have happened, unless it were intended by the writer of the two Epistles.

VI. If it should be asked, after this, on what topic are the few remaining chapters of the Epistle to the Corinthians employed? it is not adverse to our hypothesis to find their subject to be the dissensions in the Church. If it were not so, we might be at a loss to account for St. Paul's limiting his correspondents, while continuing his epistolary instruction. For the same reason that the Hebrews no longer are primarily addressed, but a Gentile Church, we may, in 1 Cor. i. 2, hear the distinction "both theirs and ours;" and the question, "Is Christ divided²?" "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ³." The Epistle is therefore not completely Catholic, both because it is a reply to a letter from Corinth, and because Jew and Greek required to be contrasted in the opening chapter, and their lessons and their teachers in the three next.

VII. One circumstance, in addition to those referred to in the above extracts, may render the connexion of the two Epistles more manifest than the priority of either. There is a perplexing impression conveyed by the first view of the very sentences which ought to determine the question of priority. A retrograde movement is refused to those addressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews—"not laying again the foundation," &c. To the Corinthians, St. Paul is employed in laying again this very foundation. But since the foundation laid in the Corinthian Epistle is not a first, but a second foundation⁴, and that which is refused in the Epistle to the Hebrews is a second foundation, not a third, therefore, the refusal in the Hebrews may have preceded the concession in the Corinthians.

² 1 Cor. i. 13.

³ 1 Cor. i. 12.

⁴ These circumstances add interest to a frequently recurring expres-

VIII. Moreover, that the Epistle to the Hebrews did precede that to the Corinthians, although that "laying again the foundation," which was refused in the former, may be granted in the latter, will appear more probable, if we consider how the structure of the Hebrews is illustrated and developed by the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

The Epistle to the Hebrews consists of doctrinal and personal topics alternating. The Epistle begins with the former. There is soon found an obvious parallel, namely, between Heb. i. 13, ii. 5—9. 14, and 1 Cor. xv. 25—28.

Heb. i. 13. "But to which of the angels said he at any time, Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?"

ii. 5. "For unto the angels hath he not put in subjection (*ὑπέταξε*) the world to come, whereof we speak.

6. But one in a certain place testified, saying, What is man, that thou art mindful of him? or the son of man, that thou visitest him?

7. Thou madest him a little lower than the angels: thou crownedst (*ἐστεφάνωσας*) him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands:

8. Thou hast put all things in subjection (*ὑπέταξας*) under his feet. For in that he put all in subjection (*ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑποτάξει*) under him, he left nothing that is not put under him (*ἀνυπότακτον*). But now we see not yet all things put under him (*ὑποτεταγμένα*).

9. But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned (*ἐστεφάνω-*

sion in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, "Know ye not?" Such is the formula of introduction to eight passages, in each of which we can trace at least as much similarity to the language to the Hebrews as would be consistent with addresses to persons who had before received the same instruction.

Compare

1 Cor. iii. 16; Heb. iii. 6.

1 Cor. v. 6; Heb. xii. 15.

1 Cor. vi. 15; Heb. xii. 16.

1 Cor. vi. 2, 3; Heb. ii. 5—13.

1 Cor. vi. 9; Heb. xii. 14. 17.

1 Cor. ix. 13; Heb. xiii. 10.

1 Cor. ix. 24; Heb. xii. 1.

μένον) with glory and honour; that he by the grace of God should taste death for very man."

14. "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil (διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου τουτέστι τὸν διάβολον)."

With this passage from the Hebrews compare the following from 1 Corinthians.

1 Cor. xv. 25. "For he must reign (δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν) till he hath put all enemies under his feet (ἄχρις οὗ ἂν θῇ, κ.τ.λ.).

26. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death (καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος).

27. For he hath put all things under his feet (ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ). But when he saith all things are put under him (ὑποτέτακται), it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him (τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος).

28. And when all things shall be subdued unto him (ὑποταγῇ), then shall the Son also himself be subject (ὑποταγήσεται) unto him that put all things under him (τῷ ὑποτάξαντι), that God may be all in all."

The play upon the word ὑποτάσσειν ("to put in subjection") in both these passages; the words "crowned," in Hebrews, and "he must reign," in Corinthians; the expression καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος, in Corinthians, and διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, in Hebrews, identify these two accounts of the same doctrine,—the subjection of all things to Christ by his triumph over death.

IX. The likeness here exhibited, particularly between 1 Cor. xv. 27, and Heb. ii. 8, could scarcely have been more striking. Comparison between two such expressions

of the same writer's thoughts must suggest a precedence on the one or the other side.

The test of priority of composition, which may serve in this and in several of the following parallels, is due to the presence of a quotation from the Old Testament. It is probable that, upon the first promulgation of a doctrine, quotations from the Old Testament would be adduced in proof, and that, upon the repetition of the same doctrine, references of a less direct nature would suffice. Here the quotation is in the Hebrews. In 1 Corinthians the sentence does not appear in the form of a verbally exact quotation, but is slightly turned from the original construction. The passage in the Old Testament is, "Thou hast put all things under his feet," and it appears in those words in the Epistle to the Hebrews; but, if quoted at all in 1 Corinthians, it is in this other form, "For he hath put all things under his feet." Perhaps, also, the passage in 1 Corinthians, "But when he saith all things are put under him," is a more familiar use of the text than that in the Hebrews, "For in that he put all in subjection under him." Again, the original Scripture has the words, "Thou crownedst;" the Hebrews quotes them, and argues that we see JESUS "crowned;" but the 1 Corinthians proceeds at once to the expression, "He must reign." The passage in Hebrews has the difficulties of the original Scripture to interpret; the passage in 1 Corinthians has the smoothness of enunciated doctrine. But the doctrine is the same in both, and depends explicitly or implicitly on the same verse of the same Psalm. By this test, then, the earlier deduction would appear to be that in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

There are other parallels to which the same kind of reasoning applies; the next, for example.

X. The greater part of the third and fourth chapters to the Hebrews is filled with the subject of the Rest into which we must labour to enter. Now, many writers have pointed

out this passage for the striking resemblance it bears to the 10th of 1 Cor. 1—12.

Mr. Forster, in his work on the Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, says,

“These contexts are parallel with each other in the following respects :—

“1st. Both passages relate alike to the exode of the Israelites from Egypt, and their temptations of Jehovah in the wilderness.

“2nd. The verbal agreements between the quotation from Psalm xcv. in Hebrews and the Apostle’s own composition in 1 Corinthians.

“3rd. In both contexts the Divine Person in question is Christ. Heb. iii. 6, 7, the quotation from the Psalms is applied to Christ ; and 1 Cor. x. 9, Christ is the person tempted. Heb. iii. 6, the Hebrew Christians are styled the “house” of Christ ; 1 Cor. x. 4, Christ is termed the “Rock” of the Israelites, the similarity of the vein of thought thus indicating throughout sameness of mind and pen.”

XI. It speaks even more to the fact of their being like characters who are warned, than to its being the same hand which writes, where we find the same example of unbelief taken in both Epistles from the Israelites in the desert. But, as I cannot enter into this parallel so unhesitatingly as Mr. Forster does, I will not pursue it further than to point out that again “the quotation from Psalm xcv. is in Hebrews,” and “the Apostle’s own composition in 1 Corinthians.” The conclusion we must draw is the same as in the last parallel ; and each instance in which it occurs is an argument for the priority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, independent of the general consideration that that Epistle is remarkable for the number of its quotations.

XII. The digression in the Epistle to the Hebrews, upon the *Rest* of the Israelites, is parenthetical between two exhortations to consider the High Priest of the Christian

profession. The latter subject now occupies chapters v. vii. viii. ix. x. of the Epistle to the Hebrews, interrupted only by another growing out of it, the Christian Covenant; while chapter vi. is of a more personal and practical character, being in fact the chapter which afforded the first suggestion of the Epistle to the Corinthians being a supplement to the Hebrews. The sixth chapter need not be discussed afresh. The other chapters ought to give no other coincidences with the rest of the Epistle than the subject of the Christian Covenant can supply, if the Melchisedecan priesthood be a doctrine treated in that more spiritual manner, belonging to a higher education, which is professedly excluded from the First to the Corinthians. It is difficult to account for the solitariness in St. Paul's Epistles, of this reference to the Melchisedecan priesthood; but it is, doubtless, somehow connected with the fact of his numbering among his correspondents, on one occasion, a larger proportion of persons who had received the education of Jews. Such a reference to the signs and precedents of early Jewish history would be lost upon the Gentile; and, as the Church became more and more Gentile, we might expect St. Paul to drop the style in his later Epistles.

XIII. In the 10th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews we meet with another of the personal warnings against apostasy, but now (unlike the previous one declaring the danger of falling short of the true Rest), the apostasy which is dreaded appears to take the form of "forsaking the assembling of yourselves together." For this language no parallel could be discovered for a long time in the Corinthian local topics. If, then, the following passage refer to the same subject, it is the more remarkably coincident, from its having so long escaped a search directed by the expectation of discovering parties under *like* circumstances, instead of (as I believe from the general tenour of the letter ought to have been expected) parties professing

themselves to be under different circumstances,—parties blamed for not taking censure in a right spirit, but defending their own conduct,—those included in a general censure, questioning and striving to disarm or divert their censor.

If, after reading the Epistle known as that to the Hebrews, the Corinthians had signified, in their letter to St. Paul, that the warning just quoted was inapplicable to their Church, for that they did not forsake the assembling of themselves together, as some made a practice of doing, it would be natural for the Apostle to reply, by so far accepting the statement, but continuing thus to blame: “Now in this that I declare unto you, I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better, but for the worse. For first of all⁵,” &c.

XIV. The connexion between the Epistles has been traced as far as the eleventh chapter of the Hebrews. Now, on this chapter, let us take an independent testimony.

Mr. Forster, at page 365 of the work already quoted, writes, “What has most impressed myself, however, and what I think most likely to impress the reader in the eleventh chapter, is its close analogy to the thirteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians; the one being a description of that *faith*, and the other of that *love*, which we see combined so peculiarly in the teaching of St. Paul. Let the portraits of faith and charity in these chapters be compared together in this view, and even an inexperienced eye will discern, I think, the touch of the same master.”

But, if this be the case, may we not interrupt the critic to inquire which was first painted?

“And though I have all *faith*, and have not *charity*⁶,” says the Apostle; from which I gather, that the two sketches are like the rest of the two Epistles, supplementary, and that the portrait of charity was needed to match the existing portraiture of faith.

⁵ 1 Cor. xi. 17.

⁶ 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

Mr. Forster continues: "The presumption here rises still nearer to proof, if the description of the sufferings of the Jewish worthies, Heb. xi. 32—38, be compared with the Apostle's account of his own sufferings, 2 Cor. xi. 22—33. Not to dwell upon the similarity of the vein of thought in these descriptions,—a similarity which must strike every reader,—I would here observe that the description in Hebrews is quite after the manner of the Apostle, who himself tells us, that it was his custom to figure the case of others in his own person (*ταῦτα δὲ, ἀδελφοὶ, μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῶ, δι' ὑμᾶς*), and who consequently might be expected (conformably with his rule, 1 Cor. ix. 20—22), where circumstances required, to figure his own case in the person of others. But this St. Paul would be obviously called to do, in addressing Hebrews who would be sure to cast aside, in their pride of prejudice, the personal example of the Apostle of the Gentiles, while they would be equally certain to listen with interest and reverence to the examples of their own ancient worthies."

XV. That there is such a contrast between the motives urged on the Hebrews and on the Corinthians, I am prepared to admit. But do not let it be exaggerated; for it is connected with the composition of both of these Epistles and of the 2nd to the Corinthians, and is not greater than may be easily accounted for by the increasing personality of the allusions and intimacy of the parties. There is the most natural, because gradually increasing, personality about the three Epistles. The Hebrews is not free from it. "Ye had compassion on me in my bonds⁷," &c. "Pray for us: for we trust we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly; but I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner⁸;" words which, while they preclude the supposition that the Epistle to the Hebrews was by an unknown writer, limit its desti-

⁷ Heb. x. 34.

⁸ Heb. xiii. 18, 19.

nation rather to places where the writer had himself taught, and which he intended to visit again. The First to the Corinthians has more personality in the shape of justification of the writer's conduct, and the proposal of it as a pattern for imitation. But the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is completely personal. The writer rejects the idea of excusing himself to them, and, while proposing the same pattern, has grown to ridicule his own apparent boastfulness. The same increasing personality may be traced in the notices of the persons addressed, as we have found in the writer's introduction of himself. The same gradual localizing is apparent as consists with a first unaddressed and Catholic Epistle, a second written to the Church at Corinth, "with all that in every place call on the name of Jesus Christ⁹," and a third addressed "to the Church at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia¹."

XVI. Towards the end of the ninth chapter of the 1 Cor., at the conclusion, that is, of the part devoted to the correction of the fornicator and profane person, the subject is illustrated by a comparison between the Christian course and the Isthmian games.

1 Cor. ix. 24. "Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain.

25. And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible.

26. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air:

27. But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."

The same metaphor is used throughout the verses preceding that other warning against the same characters al-

⁹ 1 Cor. i. 2.

¹ 2 Cor. i. 1.

ready noticed in the 16th verse of the 12th chapter to the Hebrews.

Heb. xii. 1. "Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us."

4. "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin."

The coincidence is not simply that the same figure is found in the same part of the structure of both Epistles, and seems essential to their common design. The same metaphor is used in most of St. Paul's Epistles; but there is more similarity between the shapes taken by the Apostle's idea in the two Epistles now under consideration, than in other places where the same illustration is used. The likeness of the passages is not only a general one, but a particular point of the similitude is pressed in both Epistles; plainly suggesting that both were written under one impression. The writer endeavours to turn their play into earnest. They who "have not yet resisted unto blood," in the one place, are reproved in the other as "beating the air." This is the drift of the illustration in both places; and in no other passage is this purpose observed. The purpose in both is to step beyond the preliminaries of a contest; while the motives to endurance are carefully varied as accessory to this purpose, attention being paid to the rule of increasing personality which we had occasion to point out in the preceding section (XV.) as maintaining a contrast in all the motives urged in these two Epistles.

XVII. The last-named parallel extends from the 1st to the 17th verse of the 12th chapter to the Hebrews, but is interrupted by the prominence of a second idea, "the profitableness of the chastening of the Lord;" and it is difficult to see how this parenthetical exhortation, from verse 5 to verse 11, fortifies an argument issuing in vigilance against

a corrupt brother. The difficulty is removed by drawing out the parallel to which attention is called by the similar language of 1 Cor. xi. 32: "But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world." For in this passage the same thoughts are combined; Christians' judgments on themselves, and on each other, are identified with their providential chastenings, and that sacramental discipline, which, however afflictive, is, after all, better than condemnation with the world. The Divine hand is recognized in the tenderness and righteous fruits of Christian discipline, mediate as well as immediate. And this may be the undeveloped idea which is inserted between the first verse of the twelfth chapter of Hebrews, "let us lay aside every weight;" and the fifteenth, "looking diligently lest any man fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you;"—this must indicate the full meaning of the eleventh verse: "Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby."

XVIII. Going forward,—in the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we meet with coincidences with the subject-matter of 1 Corinthians; but while comparing these passages, we may notice the early and Gentile character which belongs to certain topics brought forward in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The form at first taken by the controversy about the admission of Gentiles into the Church is outlined by the decree of the Apostles, requiring abstinence from fornication and from idolatrous meats. To these requirements we must add, according to a passage in the Galatians, "only they" (the Apostles) "would that we should remember the poor²."

Now, when we analyze the first sixteen verses of the

² Gal. ii. 10.

thirteenth chapter to the Hebrews, what are the particular injunctions which the writer thinks fit to add as a last word, an abiding postscript, to his long letter? They are lessons of brotherly love, hospitality, sympathy, and contentment, in obedient imitation of their Spiritual guides. These are all of one class of good deeds, of that class noticed to the Galatians as adjuncts to the Apostolic decree; and to his injunctions concerning these, the Apostle adds others relating to marriage, with its opposite, the sin of fornication, and disputes about meats to be eaten and avoided. Both these subjects belong to the decree itself.—Surely this summary of his mind is indicative of an early stage in the great controversy which fills the whole set of St. Paul's Epistles.

But this is likewise the summary into which we have already abstracted the contents of chapters v. to ix. of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

XIX. As we might expect, from what has preceded, therefore, the sixth chapter to the Corinthians, from the tenth verse to the end of the seventh chapter, is an expansion of the fourth verse of the thirteenth chapter of the Hebrews: "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled: but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." And in illustration of Heb. xiii. 9—16: "Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines. For it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace; not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein;" we have, in 1 Corinthians, a reference to the same diversity of opinion, with pretence of knowledge, on the subject of Jewish and idol meats. Take, for examples, 1 Cor. viii. 1: "Now as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth;" and 1 Cor. xi. 18: "for first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be divisions among you." And we have the like solution of the question: for as the Hebrews, so, also,

the Corinthians are told that, "meat commendeth us not to God: for neither, if we eat, are we the better; neither, if we eat not, are we the worse³." These words put a second negation upon the Jewish distinctions, by which meat and drink were to be exalted to a level with the "heart established with grace."

Add also, that we have in both Epistles the same Jewish precedent used: "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle⁴;" "Behold Israel after the flesh: are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar⁵?"

XX. Such is an outline of the positive arguments in favour of the supplemental relation of the First Epistle to the Corinthians to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and of the early date of the latter. A negative argument to the same effect might be drawn from the absence, from both the Epistles, of certain topics, which are prominent in the other Epistles of St. Paul, such as, for instance, express opposition to the rite of circumcision, and the discussion upon the new creature; but to trace such an argument would be to anticipate conclusions belonging to other Epistles.

The foregoing pages seem to afford ample evidence of such connexion between the two Epistles as would be inexplicable on any other hypothesis than that of their being the production of one writer. And we may gather from them the following summary of the reasons for concluding in favour of the early date of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and of the supplemental character of that to the Corinthians.

1. The warning against the sins of fornication and profaneness, which appears general in the Epistle to the Hebrews, is applied, made personal, and pointed in the Epistle to the Corinthians, in the form of a reply to such a letter from that Church, as the Epistle to the Hebrews might

³ 1 Cor. viii. 8.

⁴ Heb. xiii. 10.

⁵ 1 Cor. x. 18.

have called forth. 2. Six fundamental points of Christian doctrine are noticed, only to be passed over, in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and of these six, five are discussed at full length in the same order in 1 Corinthians, in consequence of the state of that Church requiring their teacher to begin afresh with first principles, such as he had assumed to have been already learnt. 3. St. Paul's controversy with the Judaizers is similarly treated, in the same phase, in both Epistles; turning upon distinctions in eating, and the propriety of marriage, and the rule of brotherly love, according to the first Apostolical law given to the Gentiles, rather than upon the question of circumcision. 4. The comparison, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the Israelites in the wilderness to Christians about to enter into their rest, is developed in 1 Corinthians; and the metaphor from the Grecian games, which is used in both Epistles, is borrowed from the same moment of contest. 5. Many passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews are illustrated, and many remarkable words are repeated, in that to the Corinthians. When we add to these what we have supposed, respecting a gradual localizing, and increased personality, of the correspondence, and the change from quotation of the Old Testament to mere references to the quoted passages, we have surely found, in the general contents of these two Epistles, better grounds for fixing their relative order, than are to be found in their references to Timothy, or in their hints about St. Paul's casual companions.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS, THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS, AND THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

I. THE closest connexion which can well subsist between two Epistles is, when one is defective without the other, and contains an allusion to that defect.

If we were desirous of continuing by letter the instructions which had been begun in personal communication, or had, to our knowledge, been carried to a certain extent by other teachers, it is probable we should choose our suggestions from some higher field of study. But it is next to certain, that we should notice briefly, or at least enumerate, the points with which we took for granted our pupils were acquainted. Supposing, at the reception of our first letter, some of the pupils showed an incapacity for this progressive teaching, we should take the very next opportunity of again instructing them in those essentials which we had before only enumerated; and, to any one afterwards reading our letters, it would prove that we had been endeavouring to restore former acquirements, and had not been discussing these subjects for the first time, if it were found that we strongly pressed particular points in them, and dwelt on local or temporary mistakes and defects, rather than on the whole of each question. It would prove that we had referred to one and the same list of subjects in different letters,

if the subjects were in all the same, and treated in the same order. If the number of these subjects treated in any two letters did not exactly tally, yet, if the last subject in one were the subject omitted in the other, the reader might see in this omission, that we had a purpose, if need were, to write again; but he could never fancy that the larger list of the contents of the one epistle was drawn up from the less numerous subjects of discussion in the other. The exactness of the coincidence of the subjects, in such a case, would be sufficient to prove the connexion of the two letters; the want of completeness in the last topic, and the signs of resumption in the discussion of the rest, would show plainly, that the complete list of subjects was made before the letter addressed to the backward pupils.

The above is, as nearly as we can state it in general terms, the position in which we left the consideration of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

II. In the sixth chapter to the Hebrews, there is an enumeration of elementary Christian doctrines, which the writer intends to pass over in that Epistle; and the First Epistle to the Corinthians has been shown to fill up the abstract given in that to the Hebrews, so far as the first five of the six "principles of the doctrine of Christ" are concerned; the last named subject alone, which is "eternal judgment," not being found there. This is, on the other hand, the only prominent point of Christian doctrine in the Epistles to the Thessalonians.

Attention is called to it in 1 Thess. iv. 13, by the same introductory expression, "I would not have you to be ignorant," which begins the discussion of two out of the five topics in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. There is, at the same time, much in the whole passage to recal, and attach it to, the closing topic in the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians. The passage is: "But I would not have

you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord⁵.”

III. There is exhibited, in this passage, the dependence of our resurrection on the resurrection which we believe to have already taken place in the person of Christ; precisely as in 1 Cor. xv. 13, we read: “If there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen.” St. Paul speaks in one place of those “which sleep in Jesus⁶,” and in the other, of Christ having “become the first-fruits of them that slept⁷.” We need not pursue the subject further, in order merely to point out coincidences: for so far does the Epistle to the Thessalonians agree with the First Epistle to the Corinthians on this topic, that we might rather fear we had understated the fulness of the supplement which 1 Corinthians affords to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that the doctrine of Eternal Judgment was begun to the Corinthians under another head, the Gospel of the Resurrection.

IV. But are we justified in saying, that the theme of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians is the doctrine of eternal judgment, rather than that of the resurrection? Certainly so. For this distinction appears even in the passage already

⁵ 1 Thess. iv. 13—17.

⁶ 1 Thess. iv. 14.

⁷ 1 Cor. xv. 20.

quoted from the Thessalonians. Coming to judge the quick and the dead, the method by which the faithful which remain, no less than those who sleep, shall come to be ever with the Lord:—this is not simply the doctrine of the resurrection. Are we then further justified in holding, that the doctrine, as thus distinguished from the other with which it is associated in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, is the only prominent point of doctrine in that to the Thessalonians? Yes; because the judgment-day is not introduced into the Epistle as a subordinate topic, second or foreign to the Apostle's chief purpose; for, after being struck with the explicit mention of it, every other part of the letter will appear to imply the same train of thought. The conversion of the Thessalonians to God is particularly commended as “to wait for his Son from heaven⁸,” and the desire of the Apostle is, that they may be established unblamable “at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints⁹.” The prominence of this subject is, in fact, the peculiarity of the Epistle. And a singular effect of this peculiarity may be remarked: for faith, hope, and charity are united in this Epistle, as they are in many others of St. Paul's; but hope is the more prominent grace here, because the doctrine of eternal life on which it is founded is here especially prominent. We do not merely find their “patience of hope” in combination with their “work of faith, and labour of love¹,” but also, “What is our hope?” says the Apostle, “Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming²?” To the Corinthians it was said: “If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable³,” but it remained for the Thessalonians to be told “to sorrow not, as others which have no hope⁴.” The Thessalonians also are told, to take for an helmet the “hope of salvation,”

⁸ 1 Thess. i. 10.⁹ 1 Thess. iii. 13.¹ 1 Thess. i. 3.² 1 Thess. ii. 19.³ 1 Cor. xv. 19.⁴ 1 Thess. iv. 13.

as becomes those who are “of the day⁵.” There is completeness in all this. 1 Corinthians says: “Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three⁶;” faith in Hebrews, charity in 1 Corinthians, hope in Thessalonians. We have, at once, the completion of the Hebrews’ abstract of doctrine, and of the united graces of the Corinthian list.

Now, before pursuing this view further, it may be remarked, that if there be this completeness in the combined structure of the Epistles, there must have been a preconception that the Epistles would be thus grouped together; and, if so, it must be incumbent upon us to borrow the pattern of one Epistle in order to understand the design in another.

V. The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians confirms the impression that the judgment-day is the peculiar theme of the First, by seeking to allay apprehensions raised among the Thessalonians, of the near approach of the judgment. Its own style is strongly coloured by the same vein of thought. They who persecute the Thessalonians will be punished, when the Lord “shall come to be glorified in his saints⁷;” and they who are thus troubled will find rest, “when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels⁸.” The Apostle expresses his good wishes for the Church in this form: “The Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ⁹.” Indeed, the doctrine is as singly prominent in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians as in the First.

VI. It is, however, observable here, that upon this peculiar topic of both the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the Epistle to the Hebrews has more marks of resemblance to both than either Epistle has to the other.

The passage in the Second Epistle is: “Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and

⁵ 1 Thess. v. 8.

⁶ Chap. xiii. 13.

⁷ 2 Thess. i. 10.

⁸ 2 Thess. i. 7.

⁹ 2 Thess. iii. 5.

by our gathering together unto him (ὑπὲρ—ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ' αὐτόν), that ye be not soon shaken (σαλευθῆναι) in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand¹." To illustrate this, we have, Heb. xii. 26—29: "Whose voice then shook (ἐσάλευσε) the earth: but now he hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake (σείω) not the earth only, but also heaven. And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain. Wherefore we receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear: for our God is a consuming fire." Here then in Hebrews, we have an allusion to the Old Testament in which the word σείω occurs, leading to the use of the inflections of the word σαλεύειν, and explaining the remarkable expression σαλευθῆναι, in 2 Thessalonians. So again, Heb. x. 25: "Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, . . . and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching." This verse presents us with the expression τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν, in a like connexion with that which it had above, viz., ὅσω βλέπετε ἐγγίζουσιν τὴν ἡμέραν. If the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians refers to any specific passage in the First, it is probably to 1 Thess. iv. 13—17; but there again, the details of "eternal judgment" come nearer to the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In 1 Thess. iv. 16, we have "with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God:" in Heb. xii. 19, "the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words," is said respecting a subject, which in the Hebrews is contrasted with the final judgment and assembly to which Christians are upon their approach.

VII. The same conclusion as to the degrees of resem-

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 1, 2.

blance between the two Epistles to the Thessalonians and the Epistle to the Hebrews, upon the subject of the judgment-day, is deducible from the treatment in these Epistles of the three graces, faith, hope, charity.

But on this point we may use the independent testimony of one who does not appear to contemplate the possibility of the early composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The following is the argument of Mr. Forster in his work on the Apostolic Authority of that Epistle. It is prefaced by the citation of these three parallel passages, Heb. vi. 9—12. 1 Thess. i. 2—6. 2 Thess. i. 3—5.

Heb. vi. 9. πεπείσμεθα δὲ περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀγαπητοὶ, τὰ κρείττονα καὶ ἐχόμενα σωτηρίας, εἰ καὶ οὕτω λαλοῦμεν.

10. οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ Θεὸς, ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης, ἧς ἐνεδείξασθε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, διακονήσαντες τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ διακονοῦντες.

11. Ἐπιθυμοῦμεν δὲ, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδείκνυσθαι σπουδὴν, πρὸς τὴν πληροφориαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄχρι τέλους·

12. ἵνα μὴ νωθοὶ γένησθε, μιμηταὶ δὲ τῶν διὰ πίστεως καὶ μακροθυμίας κληρονομοῦντων τὰς ἐπαγγελίας.

1 Thess. i. 2. Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ Θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν, μνησίαν ὑμῶν ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν ἡμῶν,

3. Ἀδιαλείπτως μνημονεύοντες ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν·

4. εἰδότες, ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν·

5. Ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει, καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ· καθὼς οἴδατε οἷοι ἐγενήθημεν ἐν ὑμῖν δι' ὑμᾶς.

6. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου,

δεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ, μετὰ χαρᾶς πνεύματος ἁγίου.

2 Thess. i. 3. Εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ Θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, καθὼς ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ὑπεραυξάνει ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν, καὶ πλεονάζει ἡ ἀγάπη ἐνὸς ἐκάστου πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους·

4. ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ὑμῶν καὶ πίστεως, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς διωγμοῖς ὑμῶν καὶ ταῖς θλίψεσιν αἷς ἀνέχεσθε·

5. ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ· εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε.

“Whoever,” observes the author of the *Horæ Paulinæ*, “writes two letters or two discourses nearly upon the same subject, and at no great distance of time, will find himself repeating some sentences in the very order of the words in which he has already used them; but he will more frequently find himself employing some principal terms with the order disturbed by the intermixture of other words and phrases, expressive of ideas rising up at the time, or, in many instances, repeating, not single words nor yet whole sentences, but parts and fragments of sentences.

“Now,” Mr. Forster adds, “the two Epistles to the Thessalonians were written exactly under the circumstances described in the foregoing extract; and their parallel passages, accordingly, may be expected to present all the varieties of agreement and discrepancy there so well pointed out. The reader has only to examine the above parallel passages from 1 and 2 Thessalonians, in order to see that they fully exemplify the soundness of Paley’s reasoning.

“But my object is, not to enter into their agreement and differences, but to found on them an *à fortiori* argument for the claim of St. Paul to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. For though this Epistle was neither written

on the same subject, nor nearly at the same time, with those to the Thessalonians,—in the instance before us, it yet presents the singular result of a closer and fuller agreement with both passages, from 1 and 2 Thessalonians, than those passages present when compared between themselves.

“In all three contexts we have the same subject, and this the favourite subject, of St. Paul, ‘faith, hope, and charity,’ treated in the same order. But the passage in the Hebrews comes nearer to that in 1 Thessalonians, by possessing, in common with it, two of St. Paul’s most peculiar words, *πληροφορία* and *μιμητής*,—and to that from 2 Thessalonians, by possessing, in common with it, a third Pauline peculiarity, the words *ἐνδείκνυμι* and *ἐνδειγμα*.

“Again, there is a much closer verbal parallelism throughout, between the passage of Hebrews and that from 1 Thessalonians, than between the two passages of 1 and 2 Thessalonians compared between themselves. *τοῦ ἔργου ὑμῶν* (*τῆς πίστεως* understood) is identical with *ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως*,—*καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης*, with *καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης*,—and *τὴν πληροφορίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος* with *τῆς ὑπομενῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος* (*ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ* understood). In the parallel place of 2 Thessalonians, we find only *πίστις ὑμῶν*, *ἀγάπη—ὑμῶν* and *ὑπομενῆς ὑμῶν*—the *ἔργον*, *κόπος*, and *ἐλπίς* of Hebrews and 1 Thessalonians being here all dropped, though all clearly understood.

“Although generally less closely parallel with both than the passages of Hebrews and 1 Thessalonians with each other, in one point, however, there is a most significant agreement between the place of 2 Thessalonians and that of Hebrews, without a parallel in the third of the Epistles in question. It lies in the common definition of the sense of *ἀγάπη* in these contexts, viz., love manifested in acts of benevolence. In 1 Thessalonians it is only implied in *τοῦ κόπου*—which is common to the Hebrews.

“The construction is of that interloped kind, so familiar at once and so peculiar to St. Paul. In 1 Thess. i. 3, we have three expressions, τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ τῆς ὑπομενῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος, answered (i. 5,) by three further expressions, καὶ ἐν δυνάμει, καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ; the connexion *seriatim* between the two sets of expressions as belonging to one another, can be proved from their standing in actual connexion in other parts of St. Paul’s writings; the first pair in the parallel passage of 2 Thessalonians, the second in Romans, and the third (to complete the proof of St. Paul’s hand) in the parallel place of Hebrews. 2 Thess. i. 11, we meet the reunited members of the first phrase, ἔργον πίστεως ἐν δυνάμει; Rom. v. 5, those of the second, ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ—διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου; and Heb. vi. 11, those of the third, πρὸς τὴν πληροφορίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄχρι τέλους. This clause from the Hebrews thus happily unites with that of 2 Thessalonians, to unlock and explain the involved structure of the third parallel passage, 1 Thess. i. 3—5.

“Thus, in the three parallel passages now examined, we have specimens of every kind of correspondence and variation, as to words, phrases, sentences, sentiments, and order, noticed by Paley as likely to arise between pieces written by the same author, nearly on the same subject, and nearly at the same time; with this remarkable addition, that the passage from the Hebrews, a piece confessedly *not* written under either of these circumstances, is much more closely parallel to those from the two Epistles which *were* so written, than those passages to each other. If ever there was an *à fortiori* argument, here assuredly is one for St. Paul’s being the author of Hebrews.”

VIII. Such is the first portion of Mr. Forster’s commentary on the parallel passages which combine the three graces, faith, hope, charity. It unites with the verbal

parallelism previously traced, in the notices of the approaching judgment-day, to confirm the intimate connexion of both Epistles to the Thessalonians with the Epistle to the Hebrews. It will be seen, that Mr. Forster tacitly assumes the interval between the Epistles to the Thessalonians and the Hebrews, to be that of several of the most eventful years of St. Paul's life. Whether we must not rather attribute the coincidence between the Epistles to their nearness of date, and to the Apostle's design, is for the reader to decide from Mr. Forster's own exemplification of Paley's argument. There certainly does seem that self-imitation, which Paley has supposed to prove more nearly contemporary writing.

IX. The parallels occurring in relation to the two subjects, "eternal judgment," and "hope," claim first consideration, because they appear to rise directly out of the structure of the Epistles to the Thessalonians. If they have been correctly traced above, it must be a design of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, to complete the doctrinal and hortatory scheme of the First to the Corinthians, and of that to the Hebrews. But these are not the only places in which the language to the Thessalonians bears a remarkable resemblance to the words of the other two Epistles. Such resemblances are manifest, again, in the fourth chapter of 1 Thessalonians, and the parallels belonging to it.

In the warning against being defiled by offending brethren, at Heb. xii. 16, two characters are pointed out to the Hebrews as especially dangerous: "Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright." Much of the First Epistle to the Corinthians is employed in detecting and punishing an individual brother guilty of the former sin: and the sin itself is the subject of warning to the Thessalonians,—
 "that ye should abstain from fornication²," &c. Now it is

² 1 Thess. iv. 3.

to be noticed, that to this warning is joined another charge, apparently referring to the other offence: "That no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter³." The Apostle afterwards, proceeding to dilate on "brotherly love," adds these characteristics; "that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you; that ye may walk honestly towards them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing⁴." It is this same honest food-supplying labour, which is opposed to that fault of Esau, referred to in the passage last quoted from the Epistle to the Hebrews.

X. Both sins are considered in both Epistles: not so the actual detection of the individual sinner; that is the business of one Epistle in each case. Here then, again, is one of the points upon which an argument of the unity of the epistolary series may be founded. However the same subject may recur in general terms in more than one Epistle, personal details are reserved for one Epistle alone. The Epistles trench upon one another's subjects, but do not repeat them in the same form of language. It must therefore have been intended, that each Epistle should hold a place in a general argument, as well as fulfil its own special and proper purpose.

Thus we have seen how 1 Corinthians judges the fornicator. 1 and 2 Thessalonians in like manner dispose of the covetous brother. And this is the case, although, for certain details of the offence punished in the Thessalonians, we ought, in all probability, to turn to the eighth and ninth chapters of 1 Corinthians, where its infraction of the Apostolic decree is handled, and also the countenance which some that "eat not their own bread," borrowed from some of the Apostles receiving pay. The resemblance is felt more strongly when we come to the repetition of the

³ 1 Thess. iv. 6.

⁴ Ibid. ver. 11, 12.

warning in 2 Thess. iii. 6—15. There, as in 1 Corinthians, the Apostle's own habit of working for his own bread is adduced as a counter example. But it is needless to add, that it is urged in different manners upon the Thessalonians, among whom he had laboured night and day that he might not be chargeable to any⁵, and upon the Corinthians, among whom he "robbed other churches, taking wages of them⁶," to do the Corinthians service.

XI. There is a similarity between the treatment of two such sins in conjunction, but a diversity in the mode of dealing with the sinner. Both the similarity and the diversity indicate contemporary writing in the Epistles to Corinth and Thessalonica: for they afford mutual illustration without repetition.

As in 1 Corinthians we are told that it was *commonly reported* there was fornication among the Corinthians, so in Thessalonians we are referred to *reports* of some among the Thessalonians "working not at all⁷." Measuring from the above-quoted expression of Heb. xii. 16, "lest there be any fornicator or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright," there is in the Epistles to the Corinthians and Thessalonians a growing severity, apparently of a contemporary discipline. The First Epistle to the Corinthians issues in an excommunication: so does the Second to the Thessalonians. In both cases, the faithful are commanded to withdraw from the brother walking disorderly. But it is not the same thing over again. The treatment is different, as the occasion is different. There is a noticeable mitigation of the Apostolic severity in regard to the Thessalonian offenders: "If any man obey not our word by this Epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed; yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother⁸."

⁵ 2 Thess. iii. 8.

⁷ 2 Thess. iii. 11.

⁶ 2 Cor. xi. 8.

⁸ Ibid. vers. 14, 15.

XII. We have omitted to point out *verbal* parallels with the Epistle to the Hebrews in several of the passages quoted from that to the Thessalonians. But such parallels are to be found in the following instances.

It is said of those who defraud their brethren, "the Lord is the avenger of all such⁹;" and this peculiar judgment upon Christians is the motive shown, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, to reside in the texts, "Vengeance belongeth unto me," and, "The Lord shall judge his people¹⁰." Christians have to learn that the higher the grace to which they are admitted, the greater the condemnation for its abuse. Accordingly we read, 1 Thess. iv. 8, "He therefore that despiseth, (ὁ ἀθετῶν) despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit," and in Heb. x. 28, 29, the corroboration of the same principle, derived from the elder branch of the divine law, "He that despised (ἀθετήσας τις) Moses' law died" "Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who" "hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?"

XIII. Whenever, as here, quotations and references coincide, we might argue, that the language of the quotation could not be adopted to suit the previous reference; but that the language of the reference would naturally follow the wording of the already used quotation. As, however, the text, "Vengeance is mine, I will recompense, saith the Lord," is quoted again to the Romans¹¹, we cannot depend much on the priority which would appear on the side of the Hebrews, rather than on that of the Thessalonians, from the test just mentioned. The passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews has been called by some, who hold the later date of that Epistle, a *reminiscence* from the Romans; and this chiefly on account of the addition of the same words "saith the Lord," to the same quotation

⁹ 1 Thess. iv. 6.

¹⁰ Heb. x. 30.

¹¹ Rom. xii. 19.

from Deut. xxxii. 35, in both Epistles. But when there is an intended imitation in the second use of additional words, in such a case as this, we might expect that the import of the addition would be declared in the first use of it, if not in the second. The words here added seem intended to give strength to the declaration that vengeance is reserved to the Creator, as a prerogative which He does not permit to the creature. But this purpose of the additional words is evinced by the context in only one of the Epistles, and that is the one to the Hebrews, in which the Divine claim to vengeance is not only declared but vindicated. So far, therefore, there is some argument for the priority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

XIV. Coincidences in the expressions relative to the other sin, are not strong enough of themselves to warrant an argument; but, at the same time, they fill up the parallel extending throughout the 4th chapter of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians with the 10th, 12th, and 13th chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This parallelism is seen in the following instances:—

1 Thess. iv. 3.

Heb. x. 10.

“This is the will of God
even your sanctification.”

“By the which will we
are sanctified.”

1 Thess. iv. 1.

Heb. xiii. 21.

“Ye have received of us
how ye ought to walk and
to please God.”

“Make you perfect in
every good work to do his
will, working in you that
which is well pleasing in his
sight.”

Perhaps, also, there is a coincidence in a blessing of peace following the separation of the disorderly brother at the end of 2 Thessalonians, and the “looking diligently, lest any man fail,” &c., of Heb. xii. 15, being preceded by,

“follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord ¹.”

XV. If the Epistles to the Thessalonians be thus connected with that to the Hebrews, and that to the Hebrews with that to the Corinthians, we should expect that certain topics of the Epistles would be peculiar to those addressed to the Thessalonians and Corinthians. One topic, which has been noticed already, belongs, I believe, exclusively to the group of the Epistles to these two Churches. It is St. Paul's *unburdensomeness* as an Apostle. This topic is pointedly referred to in 1 Thess. ii. 5—10, in 2 Thess. iii. 8—10, in 1 Cor. iv. 12, with the entire of the 9th chapter, and in 2 Cor. from the 7th verse of the 11th chapter, to near the end of the 12th chapter.

A second peculiar topic of these Epistles, is an observation upon their own common character, St. Paul more than once adverting to the *terror* they were calculated to inspire: “Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men ² ;” and, “That I may not seem as if I would terrify you by letters ³ .” The point in the last text is, that he will not boast of his authority, given for edification, not destruction. An apparently different cause is assigned in 2 Thess. ii. 2, “Be not soon shaken in mind, nor be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.” But are not the two causes in some degree connected? In the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, the Apostle has occasion to separate them from a disorderly brother: “And if any man obey not our word, by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed ⁴ .” Here was a measure of discipline, causing terror, like that act in 1 Corinthians, in which the Apostle has united the two ideas of Christian discipline, and of the “day of the Lord.”

¹ Heb. xii. 14.

² 2 Cor. v. 11.

³ Ibid. x. 9.

⁴ 2 Thess. iii. 14.

The closing words of 1 Cor. ἀνάθεμα μαρναθά, are supposed to be a form of excommunication rendered the more solemn by a reference to the coming of the Lord. And from the turn which such passages as relate to discipline invariably take, towards the final judgment, it may be questioned whether any judgment on a Christian offender, failed to convey the impression of that day; whether any separation between the evil and the good was without some reference to that reserved for the angels to make at the end of the world.

XVI. The result, therefore, of the comparison of the common topics, which have grouped together the Epistles to the Hebrews and Thessalonians, bears out the connexion between the Hebrews and 1 Corinthians. We have found the subject of "eternal judgment" individually prominent in the Epistles to the Thessalonians; and this alone was wanting to complete the Corinthian discussions upon the Hebrews' list of elementary doctrines. We have found an Epistle in which there is a motive for the prominence also of the third Christian grace, and in which the three graces are combined in a manner most nearly allied to the Hebrews' description. In this Epistle we discover, also, the local topic uniting the same two vices which we found united in the two previous Epistles. If all these Epistles were connected by one diocesan superintendence, and instigated by the same need of ecclesiastical censure, they could not be more alike in tone of feeling; but they require each other's fulness to bring out the true sense of their whole common plan. They must be read as a whole, if their plan and purpose are to be clearly conceived; and after the first hesitation is removed by the discovery of that plan, the order of reading them is confirmed by many passages appearing conformable with it, which before seemed as if interpolated in their own Epistle.

The logical sequence of the language is all that has been urged in the foregoing comparison of the Epistle to the Hebrews with those to the Thessalonians; and it is such as would suggest, especially when its relation to the Corinthian Epistle is considered, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written first. The connexion of the Epistles, in their language, may not be sufficient to prove that the Epistle to the Hebrews had been delivered to the Church of the Thessalonians, before the First Epistle especially addressed to them; yet it is sufficient to justify an assumption of such a previous delivery, or that St. Paul thought it possible that the Thessalonian Church was in possession of his Epistle to the Hebrews, or, at least, that this Epistle was so far public that it might be referred to as St. Paul's. None of these assumptions is improbable, if we have reason to believe that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written first; and none of them requires us to go into the historical tests of the actual delivery of that letter, which are better reserved till the whole argument, from the general composition and mutual bearings of the Epistles, is drawn out, and its intrinsic weight appreciated. But any one of these assumptions is consistent with, and in some measure explanatory of, two remarkable passages in the Epistles to the Thessalonians.

The First Epistle to the Thessalonians proves them to have been aware of the sudden approach of the day of the Lord, before that Epistle was written to them. Thus, "But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night⁵." The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians proves that they had overlooked the fact that there must be a falling away first: "Let no man deceive you by any means, for that

⁵ 1 Thess. v. 1, 2.

day shall not come, except there come a falling away first ⁶." Now both these facts—the sudden coming, and the previous falling away,—may be learnt from the Epistle to the Hebrews.

XVII. Moreover, the assumption that the Thessalonians were in any way acquainted with the Epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's, would greatly help to explain a passage in 2 Thessalonians, which has been quoted against the belief in the Pauline origin of the Epistle. The passage is, "The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write⁷." It has been said, that "it is a suspicious circumstance, and against the opinion, that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, that he has not subscribed his name; since he says in 2 Thess. iii. 17, that it was his practice to do this, in order to show that letters purporting to be his, might thus certainly be known to be genuine ⁸." However this difficulty may be waived by those supporters of the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who hold its later composition, the hypothesis of the later date of that Epistle leaves two doubts remaining. Accordingly, in form more or less like the above objection, these doubts have been continually revived from age to age.

If the motive for adding henceforward a signature be that suggested by 2 Thess. ii. 1, 2: "We beseech you, brethren, . . . that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter *as from us*, as that the day of Christ is at hand," we must assume, either the existence of an unsigned fabrication to the Thessalonians, or, else, what so often occurred in St. Paul's correspondence, the wrested sense of a true Epistle. Now, as we have seen, there is full reason to suppose, that the Thessalonians were already aware that "the day of the Lord

⁶ 2 Thess. ii. 3.

⁷ Ibid. iii. 17.

⁸ Bertholdt, quoted by Professor M. Stuart, Prolegomena to the Hebrews.

cometh," before they received the first of their two Epistles⁹. That Epistle, therefore, could not have been thus wrested to a wrong sense: so that on the hypothesis of the late date of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the existence of an unsigned counterfeit, prior to the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, has to be relied on, as sole motive for the future signature. This is, however, at the best, a very doubtful supposition. And then, further, to maintain both the Pauline origin, and the late date, of the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is necessary to discover, in the case of the Hebrews, a motive adequate to explain the departure of the writer from his established practice of attesting his writings, and proportional to the strength of that habit. Such a motive is very difficult to find or to imagine.

On the other hand, if the Epistle to the Hebrews were first written, and were known to the Thessalonians as St. Paul's, there was no breaking of a rule in the omission of a signature; for the rule was laid down after the unsigned Epistle to the Hebrews was written. If the motive to this rule were the fear of counterfeit letters, some letter which had preceded the declaration of the rule, and had, or had not been imitated, must or may have been unsigned. In either case, therefore, if the security was, in future, to be a signature, or an autograph salutation, the unsigned Epistle to the Hebrews may have been the Thessalonians' experience of St. Paul's earliest and more easily imitated style of correspondence: if a signature would, in future, leave them without the least excuse for wresting his Epistles from their common spirit, the Epistle to the Hebrews had alone been open to such abuse.

⁹ 1 Thess. v. 1, 2.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS AND THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

I. IN the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, before addressing the readers themselves, St. Paul blesses the “God of all comfort” (Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως), and repeats the word *παρακλήσεις*, *comfort*, six times, and one part or another of the corresponding verb four times, within five verses of the first chapter. In other passages of the same Epistle, he has no less strikingly reiterated the same words with the same meaning of comforting. In places also where the English translation speaks of “exhorting” or “beseeching,” the original employs the same word as it does for “comforting” or “consoling;” and the usage in this sense is almost equally frequent. A noticeable peculiarity belongs, therefore, in this Epistle, to this single expression, the use of which seems here to reach a climax of frequency. We might bring the same expression, elsewhere used, into comparison with this frequent repetition of it in 2 Corinthians, and might find that the senses put upon it in other Epistles, would be limited or modified by the determinate and peculiar meaning which it possesses in this place.

II. But something more to the purpose of settling the order of St. Paul’s Epistles results from the development of his usage of this word. Not only are the two senses of the word in 2 Corinthians united with one another by the

topics of that Epistle, and by the parallel passages of 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, but if the Apostolic decree (which first yielded this *paraclesis*, or was the first instance of this *paraclesis*) can be connected with the Epistles, it is at this word that we find the connexion most intimate. To develop the usage of this word is, however, the work of a chapter rather than of a paragraph. And, as the arguments derived from the facts might be overlooked, to preserve a continuity in the statements, the following summary is given of the points intended to be established in the present chapter :

1. That the frequent use of the word *paraclesis* gives a special character to 2 Corinthians. (par. III.)

2. That in the use of the word as meaning "comfort," the writer must also have had regard to its frequent former use for "exhortation." (IV.)

3. That its use as the "word of exhortation," would generally imply an early period, because (*a*) it was a term of Jewish import and use; (*b*) it was a term applied to the Apostolic decree; (*c*) the office of the *paraclesis* was a definite one, in which duties connected with the earliest acts in the Christian Churchbear a part. (V.)

4. That its use in the Epistle to the Hebrews is a probable instance of early use, and points to the practical warnings of that Epistle, as the beginning of the ecclesiastical discipline carried on in the Epistles to Corinth and Thessalonica. (VI.—X.)

5. That this probability coincides with the probability that the Epistle to the Hebrews was connected with the decree of Jerusalem, either in its bearer, its topics, or, at least, its date. (X.—XII.)

6. That the history of the first, second, and third "times" on which St. Paul intended revisiting Corinth, is thus synchronized with his first, second, and third letters to that Church. (XIII. compared with VIII., IX., X.)

7. And his intentions of revisiting the Thessalonians are brought into like harmony with the existing Epistles to them and to the Corinthians. (XIV., XV. with VIII., IX., X.)

III. In proof that the frequent use of the word *παράκλησις* gives a special character to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the frequency of the use of the noun and verb, whether in the sense of comforting or in that of exhorting, has already been noticed. To the frequent use must be added (if one may so speak) a certain playing with these words, as though they formed a property of the argument of the letter. St. Paul had been *consoled*; the Corinthians must share his *consolation*. Such is the communication of the Apostle's first chapter. They had been *comforted*; St. Paul had shared their *comfort*. This is the reciprocal paraclesis of the seventh chapter. A messenger, Titus, had passed between the parties; he must be *comforted* by them, and he must also be recipient of the Apostle's *paraclesis*. He must communicate *comfort* in them to the Apostle, and effect a paraclesis from the Apostle to them. These variations belong to and distinguish the very substance of the Epistle, although they are variations upon only a single word. And they are evident to any one who will turn to a Greek concordance for the words *παράκλησις* and *παρακαλεῖν*, as they are used in this Epistle.

IV. But (2), in this use of the word as meaning *comfort*, the writer must also have had regard to its frequent former use for *exhortation*.

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians strives to connect these two meanings in a striking manner, as is made apparent by the English version compared with the original. For when St. Paul wants the Corinthians "to comfort" a certain person, the same word is used, as when, in the next verse, he *beseeches* them so to do. This word is *παρακαλεῖν*¹.

¹ 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8.

Titus, who was the instrument of so much reciprocal comfort, who “accepted the exhortation” (παράκλησιν)², the Apostle takes care to tell us, he himself “desired” (παρεκάλεσα)³, “desired” (εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι), that as he had begun, so he would also finish the same grace also⁴.” He who in one place is the God of all comfort, “who comforteth us” (ὁ παρακαλῶν)⁵, is in another place represented as “beseeching us⁶.” And the Churches and the Apostle interchange the same acts, each now comforting, now “entreating” the other⁷.

The play upon the word, if we can find no better term to express such a harmony of its senses, obliges us to look elsewhere for information respecting its first use. What is this word of exhortation? what is this consolation or paraclesis?

V. (3) Besides the obvious fact relative to the two meanings of the word *paraclesis*, that the use of the word in the sense of *exhortation*, must precede its use in the sense of *comfort*, when spoken of the same event (as we may suppose the case with the usage in the Epistles to Corinth), it may be shown that the use of the word *paraclesis* in the sense of exhortation, would imply generally an early period, because it was a term of Jewish import and use; it was a term peculiarly applicable to the Apostolic decree; and the office of the paraclesis was a definite one, and defined by early causes and needs.

(a) The “word of exhortation” is an expression used respecting a sacred discourse in Jewish, as afterwards in Christian, assemblies. In this sense we find λόγος παρακλήσεως in use before the Jewish economy owned symptoms of decay. The rulers of the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia, after the reading of the law and the prophets, sought of St. Paul and his company “the word of exhorta-

² 2 Cor. viii. 17.

³ Ib. xii. 18.

⁴ Ib. viii. 6.

⁵ Ib. i. 4.

⁶ Ib. v. 20.

⁷ Ib. viii. 4.

tion ;” εἰ ἔστι λόγος ἐν ὑμῖν παρακλήσεως⁸. Precisely in the same manner may we conceive the word of exhortation to have been kept up among Christians. Thus, one loss, consequent on Christians forsaking the assembling of themselves together, is pointed out, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, to be their no longer “exhorting one another⁹.” And while the example just given, of the Jewish import of the words λόγος παρακλήσεως, sufficiently proves that these exhortations were derived from the old Scriptures, the same impression is conveyed by the words, “comfort of the Scriptures¹,” used in an Epistle to a Christian Church.

(b) The “word of exhortation” is, however, connected with one early event in the most pointed manner. This is the Apostolic decree; the method and the consequence of communicating which are given as follows in Acts xv. 22—34: “Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole Church to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; namely Judas, surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren, and they wrote letters by them after this manner:—The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth So when they were dismissed (ἀπολυθέντες), they came to Antioch: and when they had gathered the multitude together, they delivered the Epistle: which when they had read, they rejoiced for the consolation (παρακλήσει). And Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words (διὰ λόγου πολλοῦ παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφούς), and confirmed them; and after they had tarried there a space, they were let go (ἀπελύθησαν) in peace from the brethren unto the Apostles. Notwithstanding it pleased

⁸ Acts xiii. 15.⁹ Heb. x. 25.¹ Rom. xv. 4.

Silas to abide there still;" and he afterwards went with St. Paul, delivering to other cities the same decree. The conclusion we draw from the passage just quoted, is, that "the word of exhortation" had temporarily some special relation to the Apostolic decree. Either the decree was itself that *paraclesis*, the reading of which rejoiced the assembly at Antioch, or it was the cause of that *consolation*, which ensued upon the prophets *exhorting* the same things by mouth. The meaning of the word *paraclesis* in relation to the Apostolic decree is probably that which would always be most regarded in its use, especially in the earlier times of the Christian Church. Where then we find "the word of exhortation" spoken of, we have additional cause to consider it implies an early period, if there be any thing to connect it with this, its temporary definition.

(c) If, however, we be content with the less definite sense, still, we must view the duties of *paraclesis* as distinct and real, at that early period, as ever was reading in the Church or teaching. They are so represented in Rom. xii. 6—8; 1 Tim. iv. 13. They are the subject of regulation by St. Paul, in the fourteenth chapter of 1 Cor. He there shows how the duty of exhortation may be performed by the prophets in turn². The Apostle's letters were the staple of his messengers' exhortations to the Churches, and his topics were themes for their own prophets to enlarge upon. For instance, the approach of the Judgment Day was a topic on which the Thessalonians were to comfort or exhort one another with the Apostle's words, as well as with their own³. But it was rather the practical parts of his letters which were to be thus enforced by his messengers. It does not seem matter of doubt that the Apostle's letters were, as to their destination, like his messengers. Both letters and messengers promised to more

² 1 Cor. xiv. 3. 31.

³ 1 Thess. iv. 18; v. 11.

than one Church, if they were not invariably the means of announcing, the course of his personal visitation. The movements of one of these messengers are especially mixed up with the course of the letters now under comparison. It is Timothy whom the Apostle substitutes for himself in 1 Cor. iv. 17, and sends to bring the Corinthians into remembrance how he teaches "every where, in every church." But Timothy is exchanged for Titus in 2 Corinthians. The latter seems there to engross the definite duties connecting the messenger to this Church, with the letters from the Apostle. Hence, one use of the word *παράκλησις* in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians deserves especial notice. Having said in 2 Cor. viii. 6, "Insomuch that we desired Titus (*εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι*), that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you the same grace also," St. Paul adds of Titus: "For indeed he accepted the *exhortation* (*ὅτι τὴν μὲν παράκλησιν ἑδέξατο*): but being more forward, of his own accord he went unto you⁴." There was therefore a delay avoided by Titus not waiting for "the exhortation." The collection for the saints at Jerusalem is mixed up with the admission of the Gentiles, in Gal. ii. 10, and Rom. xv. 26, 27; and circumstances attendant upon this collection are noticed in the immediate context of the above account of Titus in 2 Corinthians. This collection might therefore accompany the decree, and form part of the *παράκλησις* which Titus accepted. In any case, of this there can be no doubt, that they were not merely indefinite hortatory duties attached to the office, which Timothy and Titus held in relation to the Corinthians. Those duties, so far as we can see into their temporary definition, had relation to some "word of exhortation;" and thus the word of exhortation to the Hebrews is brought into probable connexion with the earlier part of the Apostolic history,

⁴ 2 Cor. viii. 17.

with consequences immediately following the decree of Jerusalem, and with events preceding the collection for the saints.

VI. Let us now combine the various points which we have been considering, in order to limit and define the Apostle's meaning in this word *paraclesis*, before proceeding to compare it with his meaning in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as we proposed to do in the fourth place. We have points of comfort or exhortation suggested in the Apostle's Epistles, to be carried out practically by his messengers and the residents in authority, and to be enlarged upon in the congregation from the hints given in the Epistles or in the Old Testament. But to judge of the design of the Epistle to the Hebrews, from what appears to be its own description of itself, we should know what is meant by "the word of exhortation" (τοῦ λόγου τῆς παρακλήσεως). The expression is used in Heb. xiii. 22: "I beseech you (παρακαλῶ), brethren, suffer the word of exhortation: for I have written a letter unto you in few words." Now, observe that, in every other of his Epistles⁵, the one desired reformation, the wishes uppermost in the Apostle's writing, all follow an "I beseech you" (παρακαλῶ). An apology therefore for "the word of exhortation" would be indicative of a first letter; a first to the parties addressed, if not prefatory to a series of letters, in each of which the principal heads of their mutual exhortation were to be suggested.

But how does the account of these exhortations being derived from the Old Testament and Epistles agree with the character of the Epistle to the Hebrews? In Heb. iii. 13, in the midst of quotations from the Old Testament, we have: "Exhort (παρακαλεῖτε) one another daily, while it is called To day;" and in Heb. xii. 5: "Ye have for-

⁵ 1 Cor. i. 10; iv. 16; xvi. 15. 2 Cor. ii. 8; x. 1, 2. 2 Thess. iii. 12, &c.

gotten the exhortation (παρακλήσεως) which speaketh unto you as unto children ;” which sentence is followed by the quotation from Proverbs iii. 11 : “ My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord ; nor faint when thou art rebuked of him.” Surely these two uses of the words παρακαλεῖτε and παρακλήσεως, so thoroughly confirm the sense we have elsewhere obtained, that we may take St. Paul’s request “ suffer the word of exhortation,” to be a call for attention to the practical portion of his letter, and especially to the carrying out the particular *paraclesis* he has urged from the Scripture therein quoted. His whole Epistle cannot well be called *short* ; but it was in short passages or “ in few words ⁶,” that he had addressed them to that practical effect.

VII. This brings us to the hortatory parts of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with the strongest impression that their peculiarity is to characterize that Epistle. Now we find they were to exhort one another daily against sin, fearing lest it should result in an evil heart of unbelief or apostasy ⁷. We find that the exhortation, which they had forgotten, related to the chastening of the Lord, and they are exhorted not to faint when rebuked of Him ⁸. The Epistle contains, besides, a warning against the defilement to be expected from retaining in the Church any fornicator or profane person. These points give the Epistle the characters of a letter threatening discipline, and of a first exhortation to avoid its terrors. It is in favour of this view that no fornicator is as yet named, no profaneness is particularized. The first and second admonitions were to be secret, with a view to induce the offender to condemn himself. Such is the process of ecclesiastical discipline derived from the Lord himself. “ If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone : if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then

⁶ Heb. xiii. 22.

⁷ Ib. iii. 13 ; vi. 4—8.

⁸ Ib. xii. 5.

take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican⁹." The exhortation to the Hebrews might well be the first stage in such a process, allowing for the different treatment of an individual offender, and of a more numerous lapse.

The encyclical and general character which the Epistle preserves, in spite of certain apparently local allusions, is also corroborative of its being intended to convict apostasy, wherever it might lurk in any part of the whole Church. But, indeed, even here, the exhortation hints at the second stage of the discipline ordained by Christ, calling on the obstinate and apostate to see the awful analogy: "He that despised Moses' law died without mercy *under two or three witnesses*: of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who . . . hath done despite unto the spirit of grace¹?" This passage occurs after an "exhorting one another;" and we have seen that the exhortation derived out of the Old Testament also included the idea of discipline; "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth²." This progress, from exhortation to chastening, is in accordance with what after-ages had received as the degrees of preceptive discipline, the steps in the treatment of offending Christians. Tertullian names three: 1st, exhortations; 2nd, chastisements; and then, 3rd, censure³. Clement of Alexandria makes the whole course of Christian education follow this order: 1st, conversion; 2nd, pædagogy; 3rd, teaching⁴. Here there is corroboration of the chastening, παιδεία, in Heb. xii. 5—11, having a real and positive reference to Church discipline.

⁹ Matt. xviii. 15—17.

¹ Heb. x. 28, 29.

² Heb. xii. 6, quoting probably Prov. iii. 12.

³ Apologeticus, § 39.

⁴ Pædagogus, cap. i.

And with that point admitted, the Epistle to the Hebrews is no longer separable from those which completed that discipline by the correction and restoration of the same offender.

VIII. The First Epistle to the Corinthians does actually punish one offending brother; requiring them to “put away from among themselves that wicked person⁵.” But many more are threatened with corrective discipline. Their countenancing this last offender is told to the whole Church. They are not yet put to shame, but they are warned. Timothy is sent as though to be the Apostle’s witness. The Apostle is coming on Timothy’s return to him. It is the second time he has had the intention of revisiting Corinth. Shall he come with the rod of discipline or in the spirit of meekness⁶? There is, in the inquiry, the step from the second to the third alternative of correction.

IX. Observe then the Apostle, in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, declaring, “*the third time* I am ready to come to you⁷;” excusing himself for not coming on the two former occasions; when, instead, he desired Titus (παρεκάλεσα), and with him “sent a brother⁸,” explaining, as it would seem, his first⁹, his second¹, and his third² letters as foretastes of discipline, the deferring of that last time of coming, when the Apostle himself must proceed to punish. “This is the third time I am coming to you. In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time; and being absent now I write unto them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that, if I come again (ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὸ πάλιν), I will not spare³.”

The “third time of coming:”—for once, when the Epistle to the Hebrews was sent, he expected to come after Timothy’s return to him; again, after the First Epistle to

⁵ 1 Cor. v. 13.

⁶ Compare 1 Cor. iv. 14—21 with 1 Cor. xvi. 5—11.

⁷ 2 Cor. xii. 14.

⁸ Ib. xii. 18.

⁹ Ib. i. 13—19.

¹ Ib. ii. 3—9.

² Ib. xiii. 1.

³ Ib. xiii. 1, 2.

the Corinthians was sent, he hoped to see them on Timothy's return, but by a different route; and once more, "the third time," after Titus had returned to him from Corinth, with news of his having effected that paraclesis which Timothy was to have performed. The first time, when he was to pass by them into Macedonia; the second time when he was to pass through Macedonia to them; and the third time when he did pass through Macedonia.

How fully then is the change of sense of this word *παρακαλῶν*, from that of exhorting to that of comforting, accounted for, when we find it in this latter sense characterizing the Second Epistle to the Corinthians!—"When we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears. Nevertheless God, that comforteth (*παρακαλῶν*) those that are cast down, comforted us (*παρεκάλεσεν*) by the coming of Titus; and not by his coming only, but by the consolation (*παρακλήσει*) wherewith he was comforted (*παρεκλήθη*) in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your fervent mind towards me; so that I rejoiced the more⁴."

X. The plain history of the meaning of *paraclesis*, in St. Paul's writings, is the evident sequence of its sense of comfort to the prior sense of exhortation, the last sense being shadowed forth in the first mention of the word in Hebrews, and the first sense not forgotten in the latest passages of the Corinthians. The hints respecting the three missives to Corinth may be somewhat less certain, but yet the words which follow the last quotation from 2 Corinthians chap. vii., admit of our supposing a distinction between *the letter* (in ver. 8), by which they were made sorry, but which is not said to have been a letter to them alone; and the "wherefore, though I wrote unto you," in verse 12, in which they are not only the persons addressed, but an individual wrong is

⁴ Chap. vii. 5—7.

referred to, like the crime punished in 1 Corinthians. By the first, the whole Church was moved to clear itself from blame; while of the second, the Apostle says that their clearing of themselves rendered it of no further necessity than that his "care" of their Church "might appear." Whether there be this distinction or not between these two passages, the result of the Apostle's communications to Corinth is, undoubtedly, that an interchange of comfort characterizes the last letter; here, in the seventh chapter as in the first, in the blessing at the commencement, and now in the excuses for not coming but writing. "Therefore," says the Apostle a second time, "we were comforted in your comfort (*διὰ τοῦτο παρακεκλήμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει ὑμῶν*): yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we for the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all⁵."

XI. The cases of discipline at Corinth and at Thessalonica may be said to exemplify the Apostolic decree, if not to arise out of its express injunctions. This has been already suggested in the eighteenth paragraph of the first chapter, and in the ninth and tenth paragraphs of the second chapter. But, now, we see a reason for keeping constantly in view that the Apostle's discipline, as well as the topics of the last chapter to the Hebrews, touched the positive precepts of this decree, and must be dated from a period in which it was thus written: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves ye shall do well⁶."

XII. The sense of the paraclesis which refers the word to the Apostolic decree and collection, is also connected with the above sense referring it to a case of discipline at Corinth, by the fact that the delivery of the decree, and

⁵ 2 Cor. vii. 13.

⁶ Acts xv. 28, 29.

the collection for the saints, were duties belonging to the same Apostolic messengers who were employed in bringing the Corinthians to repentance. "We desired Titus, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you, the same grace also⁷." And how was Timothy employed? If we permit ourselves to draw a parallel between the first delivery of the decree at Antioch, as described in the Acts, and the λόγος παρακλήσεως, which we find in the Epistle to the Hebrews, we may suppose that in the Epistle, as in the Acts, the παράκλησις has reference to the Apostolic decree; we may suppose the Epistle to the Hebrews pleading for the acceptance or *sufferance* of that decree, under its original or proper designation of a *paraclesis*, and St. Paul making a personal request to that effect, the chief object of his having "written a letter in few words⁸" unto these persons. And if this may be supposed, we may further give to the word ἀπολελυμένον used in Heb. xiii. 23, respecting Timothy, the same sense as ἀπολυθέντες has preserved in Acts xv. 30, and may consider him, like the brethren in the Acts, as *dismissed* on an Apostolic mission, and as bearing with him the Apostolical decree, or "word of exhortation," τὸν λόγον τῆς παρακλήσεως. The first duty which Timothy had to perform for the Church was this very one. Of him, in company with St. Paul and Silas, we read, "as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem⁹." The course of Apostolic visitation here mentioned was before St. Paul had set foot in Europe; but the precedent, which is all we want to call attention to, proves the delivery of the decree (or *decrees*, for the plural is the more remarkable,) on a *second visit* to Churches in Asia Minor, that had known St. Paul before. To a continuance of such a systematic progress, Timothy preceding the Apostle, we

⁷ 2 Cor. viii. 6.⁸ Heb. xiii. 22.⁹ Acts xvi. 4.

may attribute the request of St. Paul, that the receivers of the Epistle to the Hebrews would recognize Timothy (γινώσκετε) till they should see himself¹. And thus it may be supposed, that to Churches interested in St. Paul's restoration to them, whither Timothy was on a first, and St. Paul on a second visit, and where the word of exhortation or Apostolic decree needed support, the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which Timothy was the bearer, was the companion of that word, the immediate successor or exponent of that decree.

XIII. Of course we are allowed greater latitude, if we should be mistaken in the very definite meaning which we have here attached to one particular passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation: for I have written a letter unto you in few words. Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you²." We are not tied to the above suggested sense of γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τιμόθεον ἀπολελυμένον. The visit might not be in Timothy's novitiate. Timothy's movements might be indicated by the Epistle, without his being himself the bearer of it. But, with these lesser points undetermined, there is great probability of the Apostle thus pleading, by his own personal address, for their sufferance of the exhortations of their own prophets or of the Apostolic messengers. There is much to the same effect in the introduction of Timothy at 1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11. "Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear: for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do. Let no man therefore despise him: but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me: for I look for him with the brethren."

XIV. It is the more necessary to say this, because, in the absence of any act, the mention of which would certainly prove Timothy to have been to Corinth when thus promised

¹ Heb. xiii. 22, 23.

² Ibid.

by the Apostle, there is a probability that he was otherwise employed. There are the two letters to the Thessalonians, to prove him to have gone to Thessalonica first of all the European countries he revisited. "We would have come unto you, even I Paul, once and again; but Satan hindered us³." "Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone; And sent Timotheus our brother, . . . to comfort you (*παρακαλῆσαι*) concerning your faith⁴." The return of Timothy to St. Paul is attended with the same reciprocity of comfort which followed the return of Titus, "Therefore, brethren, we were comforted over you in all our affliction and distress by your faith⁵." Still the return of Timothy is followed by an exhortation to avoid fornication and defrauding of one another "as we also have forewarned you and testified⁶." These last quoted words, are, it will be remarked, in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. And yet this Epistle is followed by a second to tell them to withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly: "And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed. Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother⁷." Here then also, as in Corinth, the first and second admonitions were given before the reluctant Apostle directed his way to the spot where the disease was pointed out.

XV. Such is the singular feature of the double case of Church discipline, at one time occupying the Apostle. It produces coincidentally double missives to two Churches. It appears to unite double resolutions of coming and not coming into the same part of his diocese. It annexes to the Epistle to the Hebrews double series of developments upon two points of practice. There is a regularity about this two-

³ 1 Thess. ii. 18.

⁴ Ibid. iii. 1, 2.

⁵ Ibid. ver. 7.

⁶ Ibid. iv. 6.

⁷ 2 Thess. iii. 14, 15.

fold development, which shows the Epistles hitherto examined to be most nearly contemporary.

But it may be asked, Which then are the first, the two to the Thessalonians, or the two Epistles to Corinth? Probably the two Thessalonian Epistles in date succeed the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and precede the second Epistle to the Corinthians. On the one hand, the presence of the doctrinal topic, the judgment day, would go to prove the direct succession of the Thessalonians to the first of Corinthians. And on the other hand, the comparative absence from the Thessalonians of the practical topic, that climax of consolation, which so prominently marks the second of Corinthians, would argue that the Apostle was not then delivered from the troubles in Asia, not yet comforted by the comfort of Titus's return.

To discuss this point of priority further would, however, involve the argument from the casual topics and incidental names, which it is best to avoid till the probable order has been deduced from the general outline of the Epistles.

We may thus sum up the corroborations which this chapter supplies for the hypothesis maintained in the former two chapters. The repeated use of the term *paraclesis*, and others derived from it, makes it sure that the weight of the second Epistle to the Corinthians must have depended greatly on the sense or senses, in which these words would be understood by its readers. Among these senses, one, if not the most remarkable one, would be that indicated by the use of the word in reference to the Apostolical decree, of which the sentences were, peculiarly, at once words of exhortation and of consolation. We find the Epistle to the Hebrews pleading for itself, or for something delivered with it, acceptance and sufferance as the word of exhortation, as the *paraclesis*. Whether it were itself, or the Apostolical decree on which the Epistle waited, that was thus called "the word of exhortation," the same conclusion would be deducible; namely, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was

delivered to one or more of the Churches, in a very early period of the Christian Church, while yet the Apostolical decrees were the new and consolatory canons of the Gentile congregations, while yet the Jewish modes of teaching supplied terms and customs to the Christians. Then, seeking for those practical precepts in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in regard to which "the word of exhortation" might need an Apostle's strong pleading for its sufferance, we find chiefly two, and these two among the precepts of the Apostolical decree. The terms in which these are referred to, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, are such as would be employed in the first act or stage of that tripartite Christian discipline, of which the two following acts are accomplished alike in the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Thessalonians. And in this particular, as well as in its general features, the Epistle to the Hebrews is such an one as St. Paul, according to his custom, would send "before his face" to Churches which he intended to visit shortly; such an one as would precede the first of the three several times that he was "coming unto" the Church of Corinth; such an one as would give authority to the powers assumed by his messengers, whether Titus or Timothy, to whatever place they accompanied this Epistle.

And if, now, one should think that too much weight is here laid upon a single word, let it be thought also, how often, in all ages of the Christian Church, single words have been used to express wide scopes of action and doctrine; how single words have been the permanent centres of conflict, or have reduced a complexity of duties into one. It accords with our every-day experience, to include, under so remarkable a word as the one here considered, all the primary acts of Apostolic discipline mentioned in this chapter; because not one of them is disconnected from the rest, not one of them is unsuited to the early agency of the Divine Paraclete.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE RELATIONS OF THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

I. As we proceed in the attempt to exhibit the Epistles in one system, the task becomes more difficult, from the complication of the parallels of a number of Epistles.

The parallels which we shall now take will be, first, those which test the order of the Epistles to the Galatians and Hebrews, then those which may decide the question of priority between the Galatian and other Epistles.

The arguments that may be drawn from a comparison of Galatian and Hebrew parallels come under these general heads: 1. The Epistle to the Hebrews uses terms similar to those in the Epistle to the Galatians, which terms are explained to the Hebrews, but to the Galatians are used in so peculiar a manner, that they must have been obscure, unless interpreted by the other Epistle. 2. Certain words are used in the form of general instruction in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and the same words are applied, with the same sense, to special occasions, or in the development of some subordinate argument, in the Galatian and other Epistles. 3. Certain words are used in the Epistle to the Hebrews respecting Christ, which are applied in the other Epistles to Christians. All these modes of use imply the priority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Such words as *Mediator*, Μεσίτης, *covenant*, διαθήκη, *promises*, ἐπαγγελίαι, are words of so great and peculiar im-

port, that we cannot suppose they would, at any period of the Christian Church, be used in different senses unintentionally, or would be used obscurely, unless those to whom they were addressed would be able, by their knowledge of some earlier use, to apprehend at once their later meaning. Such words as *boast*, *καύχησης*, *test*, *δοκιμή*, *perfection*, *κατάρτισις*, are words which have no necessary connexion with each other; but, in the development of the epistolary argument, a striking similarity appears in the mode of the derivation of the sentiments with which they and their respective synonymes are used.

Of the passages more especially illustrated by this means, one is in the form of a general argument, the other a recommendation of discipline. One is Gal. iii. 15. 17. 19, 20: "Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto. . . . And this I say, that the covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect. . . . Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one." The other passage is Gal. vi. 1. 4: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. . . . But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing (τὸ καύχημα) in himself alone, and not in another." In these two passages all the words above enumerated are found, but they are all more or less prominently applied in other parts of the Epistles to Corinth and Galatia. A few such terms only can be selected as subjects of a reasoning which might be applied to many others, with the common

purpose of showing that, in all these instances, the source of the terms, and the origin of the sentiments, in the other Epistles (especially the Galatian), are to be found in the generalities of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Because Jesus Christ is the Author and Finisher of our faith, and because the Epistle to the Hebrews treats of Him as such, therefore it deals in universal propositions, of which the other Epistles give more casual and particular examples.

II. The word “Mediator” cannot have been introduced casually; that writing cannot be the first composed which uses the word as well known. I shall, however, use Mr. Forster’s critical parallelizing of the Epistles to the Hebrews and Galatians at this word: the following extract is from his work, already more than once referred to, on the Apostolical authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

“*Μεσίτης* occurs once only in the LXX, Job ix. 33, and there without any equivalent in the Hebrew text. This circumstance renders its adoption, when it occurs in the New Testament, the more marked and characteristic. But its occurrences in the New Testament are limited to Hebrews, where it is found in three examples, and to two of St. Paul’s undisputed Epistles, Galatians and 1 Timothy, where it is also met with three times: Heb. viii. 6; ix. 15; xii. 24; Gal. iii. 19, 20; 1 Tim. ii. 5.

“But the nicety of correspondence in the use of *Μεσίτης* in Hebrews and Galatians lies in the fact, that in the two Epistles it is introduced in wholly distinct, and yet closely allied, applications, whose reunion is absolutely necessary to a perfect sense: that the truth meant to be conveyed consists of two parts, which are divided between two Epistles, so far as the enunciation is concerned, though each really contains the whole: the first part being expressed and the second implied in Galatians, the second expressed and the first implied in Hebrews: each Epistle consequently con-

taining, in this instance, a tacit reference to the other, necessary to complete the sense.

“In the passage of Galatians the mediatorial office of Moses only is treated of, while the higher mediation of Jesus Christ is left to be gathered by inference. Nothing, on the one hand, can be more clear and obvious than the reference here to Moses as the mediator of the old covenant; nothing, on the other hand, more cryptic and covert than the implied reference to Christ as the mediator of the new. The consequence is an obscurity which has greatly perplexed the commentators, and which can be dispelled only by collateral lights of Scripture, and especially, as I hope to show, by comparison with the parallel places of Hebrews.

“In the passages of Hebrews, on the contrary, we have the full annunciation of Christ’s office as the Mediator of the new covenant, while the previous mediation of Moses is left wholly to implication: Heb. viii. 6, *κρείττονός ἐστι διαθήκης μεσίτης*: Heb. ix. 15, *διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν*: Heb. xii. 24, *καὶ διαθήκης νέας μεσίτη Ἰησοῦ*. In these places, although Christ alone is spoken of as Mediator, the phrases ‘Mediator of the better covenant’ and ‘Mediator of the new Covenant’ decisively bear allusion to that mediation of Moses which is openly set forth in the Epistle to the Galatians; the terms themselves not only necessarily supposing a mediator of the old, but naturally implying that the writer who had used the one expression had previously employed the other. It is not, however, till we unite these parallel passages of Hebrews and Galatians, that the whole truth intended comes out in its full light: a result than which I cannot conceive stronger internal presumption for both Epistles being the work of one hand.

“To complete the presumption, we have only to add to the evidence 1 Tim. ii. 5, a passage which at the same time throws clearest light on the obscurity in the parallel passage of Galatians, and proves the doctrine of Christ’s Me-

diatorial office, as laid down in the Hebrews, to have been a doctrine elsewhere and exclusively inculcated in set form by St. Paul: εἷς γὰρ Θεὸς, εἷς καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς. Coincidentally with the three passages from Hebrews, we have here the fullest annunciation of Christ Jesus as ‘the Mediator of the New Covenant,’ while at the same time we are here instructed how to fill up the imperfect proposition (of the nature of an enthymem), Gal. iii. 20. For since the third party in Christ’s mediation is *mankind at large*, the unnamed third party in that of Moses must, by parity of reasoning, be God’s people, Israel. In this view the parallel texts will stand thus. There is one God and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus. There is one God and one Mediator between God and his people Israel, the man Moses.”

III. Mr. Forster’s conclusion contradicts, it will be observed, our hypothesis of the priority of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But surely our hypothesis might be left to the support of his reasoning. Why should St. Paul first set forth (as, if we give precedence to the Galatian Epistle, he must) an ambiguous as well as imperfect proposition? Reading that Epistle alone, we have, from the premisses, “a mediator is not of one” party, “but God is one” party, not only to draw the conclusion “there is another party,” but we have also to discover for ourselves the mediator in Moses, and the other party in the children of Israel. If so little be expressly stated to the Galatians about the old covenant, how can it be the sufficient warrant for the application of the like terms to Christ, and the new covenant, in the Epistle to the Hebrews? Whereas, on the contrary, as, by the critic’s own admission, there is no difficulty about the use and definition of the term mediator, as employed to the Hebrews, so there could be no obscurity in the later use of the same terms to the Galatians.

IV. Mr. Forster has, again, from these terms “Mediator of a better and new covenant” in the Epistle to the Hebrews, discovered a necessity for the writer to have *previously employed* the expression “old covenant,” and therefore, as of course, to have previously written to the Galatians.

Let us see. The word *Μεσίτης* is used later in the Epistle to the Hebrews than other words establishing the qualities of the Mediator. Were the Epistle to the Hebrews a continuation of either of the other Epistles on this point, it would be more likely that we should come upon the word *Μεσίτης* without the interposition of Heb. vii. 22, “by so much was Jesus made (ἑγγυος) surety of a better covenant.” The apparent origin of the whole doctrine of the *Μεσίτης*, as urged to the Hebrews, is in the words *ἑμεσίτευσεν* (mediator fuit) “by oath,” and these are used at the very commencement of the discussion upon the promises¹. But then, this expression *ἑμεσίτευσεν ὄρκῳ* (and therefore also *Μεσίτης*) proceeds, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, out of that other one immediately before it, “he sware by himself² ;” so that it is in the Epistle to the Hebrews alone that the doctrine is fully stated, that God was one party in the covenant, man the other, and God the Mediator, by swearing by *Himself*, to the patriarch Abraham.

Such a truth as this could not be gathered from any other Epistle than that to the Hebrews, yet it was a truth necessary to be understood by the Galatians: it was like a proposition, to which the terms respecting the Mediator used to them bore the relation of a corollary.

V. The language used to the Galatians respecting the *promises* has indications of following the Epistle to the Hebrews. The argument to the Hebrews is general, to the Galatians particular, upon this point. An incidental controversy is at the bottom of certain peculiarities of the

¹ Heb. vi. 17.

² Ib. ver. 13.

latter, an original independent character belongs to the former. This contrast appears in the first notices of the *promises*. We have a natural occasion for the mention of the word to the Hebrews, "That ye be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises³." It seems not to require any particular emergence to call forth such a general and obvious encouragement. Again, "Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short of it⁴." There is nothing in this which might not refer to shortcomings in general; a controversy respecting the terms of the promise could not have proceeded very far, when such sentences as these were written.

Very different is the sudden entrance upon controversy the moment the *promise* is named to the Galatians. Indeed, the opposition between faith and works, flesh and spirit, begins before we can reach the encouragement of the promise. The allusion is to the 3rd and 4th chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians.

The Epistle to the Hebrews may be, implicitly, what it is not on the surface, controversial; but, if it be so, we must assume that the parties with whom it argues were not so advanced in the attempt to join Jewish or heathen principles to Christianity as the Roman and Galatian hearers; or else, what is very improbable, that the recollection of such a tendency and disposition had vanished from the Apostle's mind, and all resentment at its resistance from his readers.'

VI. Causes for the abruptness and peculiarities of the language to the Galatians can, with some probability, be assigned, on the assumption that, in this Epistle, the subjects of that to the Hebrews were resumed, after the occurrence of the events at Corinth.

The part which the angels had borne in the former application of the law, was now exercised by the Apostles.

³ Heb. vi. 12.

⁴ Ib. iv. 1.

Hence the digression respecting the law, that it was “ordained by angels⁵,” carries with it the weight of the argument in Heb. ii. 1—3, that “if the word spoken by angels was stedfast” (βέβαιος), much more the word of the Lord and his Apostles.

In the passage just quoted from the Epistle to the Hebrews, βέβαιος is used to denote the *stedfastness* of God’s word; and in Heb. vi. 16, βεβαίωσις for the *confirmation* of his promise. To the Galatians another term, κυροῦν, is used, meaning ‘to confirm.’ It is said of the covenant, “if it be confirmed (κεκυρωμένην), no man disannulleth it⁶,” and “the covenant that was *confirmed before* (προκεκυρωμένην) of God, in Christ, the law which was . . . after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect⁷.” Now there is a difference between the two Epistles here, which is easily overlooked, as it is in the English Version, but which is remarkable, because the only other New Testament passage in which κυροῦν is used, is 2 Cor. ii. 8, “that ye would confirm (κυρῶσαι) your love towards” the Corinthian offender. This event at Corinth, might, therefore, be the occasion of prosecuting to the Galatians the idea of the covenant being *confirmed* and *fore-confirmed*.

The language employed respecting the covenant to the Galatians admits the supposition that the Galatians knew the conditions of the covenant had been put to the test by the loosing of one who had been bound, and bears the character of an analysis of the proceedings at Corinth. “Brethren, I speak after the manner of men: Though it be but a man’s covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto⁸,” is language adapted to the case of the Jewish Christians impugning man’s application of the covenant in binding and loosing, to its being tested by excommunication, but secured by confirmation of love, and this while in *men’s* hands.

⁵ Gal. iii. 19.⁶ Ib. ver. 15.⁷ Ib. ver. 17.⁸ Ib. ver. 15.

VII. The above differences in the language respecting the *covenants* are minute, but the following is on a larger scale. The mounts of the law and of the promise are noticed both to Galatians and Hebrews, and to none other. Compare Heb. xii. 18—22: “For ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the Living God, the heavenly Jerusalem;” with Gal. iv. 24—26: “Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants: the one from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to *bondage* But Jerusalem which is above is *free*, which is the mother of us all.” Something is here predicated of the mounts in one Epistle, which is not found in the other. This is their respective bondage and freedom. This point of the Epistle to the Galatians is over and above the access to the heavenly, and the terror of the tangible, mount which we find contrasted to the Hebrews. We cannot assign any ground for this additional idea simpler than the loosing of the Corinthian, or some other Christian offender, that had been bound.

VIII. The ministry of condemnation and reconciliation, the bondage of the one, and the liberty of the other, are sufficient to account for the introduction of the allegory of Hagar, if the Hebrew and Corinthian Epistles preceded the Galatian. But, while the allegory alone might suffice to prove the respective bondage and freedom of the two covenants, it is insufficient to describe them to those who had no other information, or to whom nothing had been previously written upon them. Let us look for explanation in the already compared Epistles. The “new and old covenants” mentioned in the third chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians are sufficient to bring the idea of the Apostle implied in the allegory nearer to the understanding of an ordinary mind. But much must, even then, have been previously learned from other sources, more, indeed, than a man could possibly gather from the Old Testament, to

enable him to understand the full meaning of what the Apostle in this allegory implied to the Galatians. Neither, certainly, could this information be obtained from the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where “this cup is the new testament (covenant) in my blood”⁹ introduces an extra feature, and takes for granted that we can see and admit the application of the sacramental Blood to the same liberty of conscience and remission of sin. This cannot, therefore, be the direct source of all these conclusions, for here, as in all the other places, much is assumed to be previously known. And it may fairly be questioned whether there is more than one place in the New or Old Scripture where the same subjects are orderly and fundamentally treated. This one place is the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the argument takes nothing for granted. In the 6th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, God’s confirmation of the promise by oath and by Himself, in the 7th, the disannulling of the commandment going before, and “the word of the oath, which was since the law,” (verses 18, 28) are treated with due regard to the commonly observed rules of introducing new topics. But, especially in the 8th chapter, we have such an account of the first and second covenant from the Old Scriptures, such particulars of the occasion for the second, and reasons for the name “old” being applied to the first, as vindicate for the Epistle to the Hebrews the claim and character of a first and original declaration. In the 9th chapter, at the 15th and following verses, we find ample foundation for the passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians respecting the cup of the covenant, which we now see, from the terms in which it is expressed, cannot be severed from the rest. “Whereupon neither the first testament (covenant, *διαθήκη*) was dedicated without blood”¹⁰. “Saying, This is the blood of the testament which God hath enjoined you”¹;” “without shedding of blood is no

⁹ 1 Cor. xi. 25.

¹⁰ Heb. ix. 18.

¹ Ib. ver. 20.

remission ²,”—such words, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, not only refer us to the sacrament of the cup, as St. Paul delivers it, saying, “This cup is the new testament (covenant) in my blood,” but as it is delivered in the fullest form of the Evangelists, “This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins ³.”

Having now seen in the general topics to the Galatians (especially in Gal. iii. 15—20), indications of a resumption of those to the Hebrews, after the case of discipline at Corinth, let us, as proposed, seek in the Hebrews’ account of the Person and Work of Christ, the derivation of conventional terms expressive of discipline in Gal. vi. 1—4.

IX. At 2 Cor. ix. 4, St. Paul refers to the Gentile collection for the saints as an *ὑπόστασις καυχήσεως*: “Lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting” (*ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει ταύτῃ τῆς καυχήσεως*). Such might be the Gentile vaunt, if St. Paul allowed any “confidence of boasting” to the Jew. To this Jewish glory after the flesh, he refers in the same language at 2 Cor. xi. 17: “That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly, in this confidence of boasting” (*ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὑποστάσει τῆς καυχήσεως*).

But is the origin of the expression, *ὑπόστασις καυχήσεως*, to be found in either of these places? In Heb. iii. 14 it is said, “For we are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence (*τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως*) steadfast unto the end,” which passage is a resumption of another, Heb. iii. 6: “if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope (*τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὸ καύχημα τῆς ἐλπίδος*) firm unto the end.” The two words of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, *ὑπόστασις* and *καύχησις*, are united in these two parallels of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

² Heb. ix. 22.

³ Matt. xxvi. 28.

Now it is impossible to derive this *ὑπόστασις*, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, from any idea so mundane as that which is blamed to the Corinthians; but the previous use of this word, in the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews, would lead, we should expect, to its sense in Heb. iii. 14. This previous use of the word is to describe the Son as the express image of the person of God (*τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*, Heb. i. 3). Our impression is, therefore, that *ὑπόστασις*, and the "boasting" in connexion with that word, are terms originally used in respect of the divine object of faith, and thence applied to human or earthly distinctions.

If this True Beginning of our confidence should be thought too exalted for the connexion it is desired to prove, there is another place in the Epistle to the Hebrews to confirm the primary importance and use of the word hypostasis in the epistolary series. "Faith is the substance (*ὑπόστασις*) of things hoped for⁴." In this, as in the former case, the word with which *καύχησις* stands connected in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is applied to far mightier import in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It occurs in the definition of faith, the substance of hope, the Person of God. It is scarcely possible to conceive these uses derived from the lower topic; but the terms as used to the Galatians get their chief force from the application of them made to the Hebrews. The boasting, therefore, of which Christ is the confidence, belongs, as a proposition, to the Epistle to the Hebrews, while the other boasts follow as corollaries, or subordinate contrasts, in the Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians⁵.

⁴ Heb. xi. 1.

⁵ The argument urged from the word *καύχησις* is similar to that which belongs to another word of the same kind. It is too far-fetched a generalization (if one may so speak) to deduce (Heb. iii. 1) the title "High Priest of our profession" (*τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν*) from 2 Cor. ix. 13: "your professed subjection (*τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν*) unto the gospel of Christ," spoken, as this last is, of the Gentile contribution. On the other hand, we have already developed *subjection* (*ὑποτάγη*), in the First Epistle to

X. The general sentiments of the Epistles agree with this view. In the already quoted Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the true boast excludes all other glorying; "he that glorieth, let him glory (καυχάσθω) in the Lord⁶." Nor is this passage of the Second Epistle the first occasion of quoting the same words from the prophet⁷. In the first chapter of the First Epistle to Corinth, the character of the Christian boast is shown to be in Christ: "That, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord⁸." This is also the contrast to the Galatians: "they who are circumcised desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh. But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ⁹."

Thus did St. Paul, by plain expressions, point out the same contrast between the divine and human confidences of boasting as is implied in the altered meaning of the terms ὑπόστασις and καύχησις employed in successive Epistles¹. It is suggested, therefore, that the order of the the Corinthians, out of the same topic to the Hebrews; and it is not two chapters' interval which separates this "consider the High Priest of our profession," Heb. iii. 1, from "Seeing then that we have a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession" (τῆς ὁμολογίας), Heb. iv. 14, and the same subject is once more resumed in the same Epistle, Heb. x. 21. 23: "having an high priest over the house of God let us hold fast the profession of our faith (τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος) unwavering." An argument, therefore, like that deduced from καύχησις, may be derived from ὁμολογία; for the general proposition belongs here also to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

⁶ 2 Cor. x. 17.

⁷ Jer. ix. 24.

⁸ 1 Cor. i. 31.

⁹ Gal. vi. 13, 14.

¹ Both the words considered above lead us to the account of our Lord given in the Epistle to the Hebrews, for the definition of their meaning in St. Paul's Epistles. To them we must add one other word, παρρησία, for it might almost be thought to define καύχημα in Heb. iii. 6. "The confidence (παρρησίαν) and the rejoicing (καύχημα) of the hope firm (βεβαίαν) unto the end." If the primary sense of this word, "boldness in speech," were expected to decide St. Paul's earliest use of it, we should not place the Epistle to the Hebrews first. There can be no doubt of the word having, in this Epistle, the sense of Christian boldness in general. It is so defined by the context in three places, Heb. iv. 16, x. 19, and x. 35. But confidence towards God is an earlier deduction from the Blood of Christ than openness

Epistles was calculated to display the true source of glorying before any minor boast was contrasted with it.

XI. Another instance of the same word being used respecting Christ, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and applied to Christians in the other Epistles, is found in the employment of the words δοκιμάζειν and πειράζειν. To compare, first, the passages in which the two words occur together. In Heb. iii. 9, there is quoted, of the day of temptation in the wilderness, "When your fathers tempted me (ἐπείρασάν με), proved me (ἐδοκίμασάν με), and saw my works forty years." In 2 Cor. xiii. 5, the Corinthians are told, "Examine (πειράζεσθε) yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove (δοκιμάζεσθε) your own selves." In Gal. vi. 1, 4, the spiritual are told to restore one overtaken in a fault: "considering thyself, lest thou also be *tempted* (πειρασθῇς) but let every man *prove* (δοκιμαζέτω) his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing (τὸ καύχημα) in himself alone, and not in another." These three examples may give a general idea of the contemporary development of the two words, from their first use together in regard to our Lord, to their last combined use in regard to the duties of spiritual guides to their flocks.

XII. It is the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews respecting our Lord: "in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted²." This is only the first of many passages which declare as much³. This doctrine the First Epistle to the Corinthians continues when it says, "neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted⁴," in order to argue,

of speech to men. This openness of speech is looked for later, Ephes. vi. 19. If, however, this sense be also hid under the use of the word in the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is a reference back to the same origin as of the other two words, namely, to the early part of this Epistle, in which it is said that salvation "at the first began to be *spoken by the Lord*" (Heb. ii. 3), and God "hath spoken to us by his Son" (Heb. i. 1, 2).

² Heb. ii. 18.

³ Ib. iv. 15, 16; v. 2, 9.

⁴ 1 Cor. x. 9.

“there hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man : but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able ; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it ⁵.” Thus there is succession in the passages where *πειράζειν* occurs alone. The two words, however, can no more be separated in the other Epistles than in that to the Hebrews. For, within a verse or two, the above discourse to the Corinthians, passing from the bread which we break being the communion (*κοινωνία*) of the Body of Christ ⁶, through divers instances of unworthy eating thereof, concludes, “But let a man examine himself (*δοκιμαζέτω*), and so let him eat ⁷.” Here then we have *δοκιμάζειν* in connexion with the communion. And we see a reason for this in the connexion of the Epistles. Three “of those who seemed to be somewhat ⁸” gave the right hands of fellowship (*κοινωνίας*) to those two, St. Paul and St. Barnabas, who were to go to the heathen, while they went to the circumcision ; only stipulating that the Gentile mission should “remember the poor ⁹.” In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul calls this contribution for the saints an experiment (*δοκιμῆς*), or test of Gentile subjection to the gospel ¹, to prove the sincerity of their love ².

XIII. We have, again, another instance of the same sort of development. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians joins *καταρτίζεσθε* with *παρακαλεῖσθε* in the final salutation, “Be perfect, be of good comfort ³.” Now this word passes into the Galatians’ Epistle, being used thus : “restore (*καταρτίζετε*) such an one in the spirit of meekness ⁴,” and was used in the first chapter to the Corinthians : “that ye be perfectly joined together (*κατηρητισμένοι*) in the same mind ⁵.”

⁵ 1 Cor. x. 13.

⁷ Ib. xi. 28.

⁹ Ib. ver. 9, 10.

² Ib. viii. 8.

⁴ Gal. vi. 1.

⁶ Ib. ver. 16.

⁸ Gal. ii. 6.

¹ 2 Cor. ix. 13.

³ Ib. xiii. 11.

⁵ 1 Cor. i. 10.

Does then its use in the Epistle to the Hebrews suit, explain, and arrange these various senses?

In Heb. x. 5, 9, we find these words: "when he cometh into the world he saith a body hast thou prepared me (καταρτίσω) Lo, I come to do thy will, O God." In Heb. xiii. 20, 21: "the God of peace make you perfect (καταρτίσαι) to do his will through Jesus Christ." Here then to the Hebrews is, once for all, derived the grace in the believer from the grace of the Lord ⁶.

We might maintain the same method of argument from nearly synonymous expressions in the other Epistles. The Apostle prays that, by coming to the Thessalonians, he "might perfect that which is lacking in their faith" (καταρτίσαι τὰ ὑστερήματα ⁷): and speaks of the Corinthians coming behind in no gift (ὑστερεῖσθαι ⁸). This expression is applied externally to the Hebrews: "Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into his rest, any of you should seem to come short (ὑστερηκεῖναι) of it ⁹."

But without proceeding with their synonymes, each remarkable word of Gal. vi. 1, 4. relative to discipline, has been shown to have a like derivation in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This derivation, which might be deceptive if it regarded one only, can scarcely be merely an illusion in regard to all three terms.

⁶ And another word of the same kind follows the rule of those expressive of graces derived from Christ. These are uses of τέλειος to the Corinthians: "When that which is perfect (τέλειον) is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child," &c. (1 Cor. xiii. 10, 11.) "In malice be ye children, but in understanding be men" (τέλειοι, 1 Cor. xiv. 20). This *perfection* appears also in the person of the Saviour. It is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "it became Him to make the captain (ἀρχηγόν) of their salvation perfect (τελειῶσαι, Heb. ii. 10). Being made perfect, He became the Author of eternal salvation to all them that obey Him (Heb. v. 9): "the law made nothing perfect" (Heb. vii. 19). In this case, not only is the Great Origin of perfection stated to the Hebrews, but, once for all, the phrase applied to Him is transferred to things of lower import.

⁷ 1 Thess. iii. 10.

⁸ 1 Cor. i. 7.

⁹ Heb. iv. 1.

XIV. In thus tracing the relation between the Epistles to the Galatians and Hebrews, we have found reasons to believe that the Epistles to the Corinthians intervened between them, seeing that certain expressions to the Hebrews appear to have been developed first in the Epistle to the Corinthians, and thence in the Epistle to the Galatians. We have thus proceeded some way in the performance of the second part of the purpose of this chapter, which was, to determine the relation between the Galatian and other Epistles, besides that to the Hebrews. To this subject we shall now more particularly address ourselves.

In evidence of the relation between the Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians, we find, in the former, indications of the consequences of those acts of discipline, to which so large a portion of the latter Epistles relates. These indications are at first sight obscure, but there are expressions in the Epistle to the Galatians which seem to admit of no other interpretation but that which regards them as allusions to the case of the offender bound and loosed at Corinth.

A coincident feature of the Epistle to the Galatians and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is St. Paul having to rebut the accusation that he admitted or preached circumcision: "some . . . think of us as if we walked according to the flesh ¹:" "I brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution ²?"

At what period, or from what circumstances, could such an accusation arise? The whole life of St. Paul subsequent to his conversion, and every part of his Epistles, fairly interpreted, are opposed to such an accusation. It is unlikely that St. Paul should have incurred the charge of preaching circumcision by any actual observance of that rite, or, indeed, by any direct revival of the ritual law. If Timothy was an

¹ 2 Cor. x. 2.

² Gal. v. 11.

example on the one side, Titus was a later example on the other.

We can only look for the ground of such an accusation in something that the Apostle had said or done, which might have been misconstrued into a recommendation of the Jewish discipline.

In looking again with this view, nothing appears to admit of such misconstruction except those acts of discipline which we have been considering in the Epistles to the Hebrews and Corinthians.

A distinction is drawn to the Galatians between the conduct he had blamed in St. Peter, and the conduct of which St. Paul himself was now accused. St. Peter seemed, by his conduct, to preach circumcision: that appearance of evil St. Paul studies to remove from himself.

That in which St. Peter seemed to preach circumcision, and for which "he was to be blamed," was, that "he withdrew and separated himself" from the Gentile brethren³. But, when St. Paul commanded Christians to separate from an offending brother, it looked like the separation which St. Peter had countenanced; and, therefore, it is no wonder if the Galatians and others mistook it for a judaizing separation. One labour the Apostle undertakes in the Epistle to them is, to prove that the separation from a disorderly or offending brother was not identical with St. Peter's behaviour at Antioch, nor any encouragement to those who would subject others to the bondage of the law.

XV. In proof of this position, we may notice that defiance to the Christian discipline of separating an offending brother had begun, in Corinth, even before the sentence had been issued: "ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you⁴." After the sentence had been issued, the tone of the opposition implies that the Corin-

³ Gal. ii. 11, 12.

⁴ 1 Cor. v. 2.

thians regarded the act as one of Jewish discipline; for a principal object of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is, primarily, to restore the offending brother, and, secondarily, to illustrate the course as not Jewish, but Christian. To this end St. Paul insists that it was not fleshly bondage, because he could point to the loosing which had followed the binding; so that still, "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty⁵." To this end, he excuses the act from all appearance of self-exaltation, "we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord⁶;" and points out the analogy to it in his own deliverance: "Who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver⁷." To this end he generalizes the principle, as though it were to begin the Christian life anew, to use this ministry of reconciliation: "Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh . . . Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature . . . And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation⁸." So, moreover, a main point of the third chapter of this Epistle is to reconcile the Corinthians to their Christian discipline, and to distinguish it from Jewish severity and legality. Why else contrast a ministry of reconciliation with a ministry of condemnation, unless he pointed to the Corinthian condemned and reconciled?

XVI. But it might be supposed that in his letter to the Corinthians St. Paul only wanted to try the obedience of that one Church, and that, notwithstanding the formality of the binding and loosing, it was without influence on other Churches. Read then 2 Cor. iii. 2, where he tells the Corinthians, "Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of all men." And observe the like general severity: he threatens "in a readiness to revenge *all* disobedience when your obedience is fulfilled⁹."

⁵ 2 Cor. iii. 17.⁶ Ib. iv. 5.⁷ Ib. i. 10.⁸ Ib. v. 16—18.⁹ Ib. x. 6.

XVII. Who they were that served their own purposes by propagating this mistaken view of discipline, we learn from the eleventh chapter of the Second Epistle to Corinth : some who sought occasion to glory ; some who, albeit Christian ministers, gloried in being Hebrews, Israelites, the seed of Abraham ; whom the Apostle teaches such fleshly distinctions were not subjects of glory with him ¹. To the Galatians he speaks of such persons in these similar terms : “ As many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised neither they themselves who are circumcised keep the law ; but desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh ².”

XVIII. The remedy against misconstruction, in both Epistles, is to propose the severity of discipline against the very parties who abused it. To Corinth, he writes : “ I beseech you, that I may not be bold when I am present with that confidence, wherewith I think to be bold against some, which think of us as if we walked according to the flesh. For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh (for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds) ³.” And to the other Church : “ he that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he be I would they were even cut off which trouble you ⁴.” At the same time he offers, to the Corinthians, the alternative of repentance : “ What will ye ? shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness ⁵ ? ” “ I fear lest, when I come again I shall bewail many which have sinned already and have not repented ⁶.” And to the other Church : “ Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness ⁷.” In one letter he hastened, in the person of

¹ 2 Cor. x. 8 ; xi. 19—23.

³ 2 Cor. x. 2—4.

⁶ 2 Cor. xii. 20, 21.

² Gal. vi. 12, 13.

⁴ Gal. v. 10, 12.

⁵ 1 Cor. iv. 21.

⁷ Gal. vi. 1.

Christ, to restore the penitent for the Church's sake, "lest Satan should get an advantage of us, for we are not ignorant of his devices⁸;" in the other we learn something about these devices: "Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth? They zealously affect you, but not well; yea, they would exclude you, that ye might affect them⁹." In the one letter, he quotes himself as "pulling down strongholds;" in the other supposes the case of his building again that which he destroyed¹.

XIX. To proceed with coincident portions of the common design of the Epistles to Corinth and Galatia. The First Epistle to the Corinthians closes with the words, "if any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be *Anathema* Maranatha²." Such is, as it were, the moral of an Epistle of binding. The Epistle to the Galatians begins with the like expressions: "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed (*anathema*). As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed (*anathema*)³."

XX. Meanwhile, that the Apostle is speaking in both cases of the same persons is apparent. To the Galatians their epithet is "*false* brethren⁴;" to the Corinthians "*false* Apostles." "Though *we* preach," he says to the Galatians; "transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ," he says to the Corinthians⁵. The contrast between Apostles is heightened, in both places, by an illustration from angelic natures. In 2 Cor. xi. 14, the declaration "and no marvel; for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light," exactly leads to the supposed case put to the Galatians: "though an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel⁶."

⁸ 2 Cor. ii. 11.

⁹ Gal. iv. 16, 17.

¹ Ib. ii. 18.

² 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

³ Gal. i. 8, 9.

⁴ Ib. ii. 4.

⁵ 2 Cor. xi. 13.

⁶ Gal. i. 8.

XXI. But the actions attributed to these persons, or to be expected from them, are still more alike, if we extract the 4th verse of the 11th chapter of 2 Corinthians. "If he that cometh preacheth another Jesus, whom we have not preached, or if ye receive another spirit, which ye have not received, or another gospel, which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with him." Not only is this passage illustrated by the Epistle to the Galatians, as we have seen above, at the words "*another gospel*," but in Galatians the other points are treated in one and the same method of argument: "*another Jesus*:" compare Gal. iii. 1, "who hath bewitched you before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth:" "*another Spirit*:" compare Gal. iii. 2, "Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?"

XXII. No other Epistles enter so circumstantially into the biography of St. Paul while a Christian, as do that to the Galatians and the second to the Corinthians. The verbal parallelism of Philippians iii. 4—6 with 2 Cor. xi. 22 relates to the Jewish claims of the Apostle to rank with the judaizing teachers, and only upon this Jewish part of the question trenches upon the biography of the Apostle. It is no exception, therefore, to the asserted prominence of the biographical coincidences in the Galatians and 2 Corinthians. But prominent and contemporary in both Epistles as is this autobiography, it does not go over the same ground. In 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33, a beginning is made by the events at Damascus, given in full detail of names and dates, but there the life breaks off abruptly, as if such details were needless for his present purpose. In the first and second chapters to the Galatians, we have the particulars of the rest of his career, authenticated again by names and dates. This style must have been better adapted to his new purpose, which was to disprove the notion that he had borrowed his gospel from others, or changed it for theirs.

Would not the abundance of the revelations with which he had been favoured have been an argument of equal weight? We know that St. Paul esteemed it a strong ground of confidence, for he uses it to the Corinthians in his Second Epistle⁷. Avoiding this ground, however, he is content simply to refer the Galatians to the occasions when "it pleased God to reveal his Son in him," and when he "went up again to Jerusalem," and that "by revelation"⁸.

But does not the priority of the 2 Corinthians here suggest itself? To admit the one fact, that his gospel was not obtained from man, at second hand, would not, in itself, have proved his gospel divine; but we see that a writer, so acute as St. Paul shows himself to have been, took for granted that it would. Does it not, then, follow that his gospel had been before attributed to divine revelation? An argument to this effect, stands, at somewhat similar length to his present one, in the place where we might expect it, in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians⁹. Whatever may have been in the writer's mind, such circumstances suffice to reconcile us to the fact of his pursuing only one of his assertions, and yet drawing the conclusion as from both, when, in Gal. i. 11, 12, he says, "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of men, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

XXIII. This solution of the diversity and accumulation of notices of his Gospel, applies to the title the Apostle assumes in the opening of the Epistle to the Galatians: "Paul, an apostle (not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead)." This title seems to challenge substantiation. But, indeed, it is substantiated by the same Epistles which prove the claims of his Gospel. The affirmative side of

⁷ 2 Cor. xii. 1—5.

⁸ Gal. i. 16 ; ii. 1, 2.

⁹ Ch. xii.

either question, "by Jesus Christ," is found in 2 Corinthians¹⁰, while the negative side "not of men, neither by man," is as fully proved in the Epistle to the Galatians.

XXIV. How such a cry as "apostle of men" could have been raised against St. Paul remains to be considered. It may have been countenanced by language like that used in 1 Cor. xv. 3, on the death and resurrection of Christ: "I delivered unto you first of all that which *I also received*;" and like that written in Heb. ii. 3, "which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed to us by them that heard Him." The mode of speaking in these places, is not elsewhere adopted by St. Paul. Let it suffice, then, to urge that such a sentence as this to the Hebrews, or the other to the Corinthians, could not well be written after the above title in the Galatian Epistle, unless at such a distance of time that the whole controversy was forgotten. In fact, if we do not misuse these Apostolic titles, to decide upon the meaning and tendency of an entire Epistle, but rather wait till the bearing of the Epistle prove the title to be an essential portion of the Epistle, we shall get a consistent theory out of these titles, and even out of the absence of them. No Apostleship named in the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews indicates there was no want of its claim to attention. "Called to be an Apostle," in the First Epistle to the Corinthians¹, has many points agreeing with it in the body of the Epistle: the contrasts of Cephas and Apollos; the spectacle of the sufferings of the Apostles; and, above all, the passage (ix. 2): "If I be not an Apostle unto others, yet doubtless I am to you; for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord." The title in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, "Apostle, by the will of God²," demands the proof given in that Epistle from the abundance of the revelations with which he had been favoured. In Galatians, the

¹⁰ Ch. xii.

¹ 1 Cor. i. 1.

² 2 Cor. i. 1.

enlarged form, “an Apostle, (not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ,) ³” requires every item to be established therein if that Epistle be the first, but requires only the negative point if it be the last, of a series of Epistles such as are now under review.

XXV. The class of parallels turned to so good account by Paley, in the *Horæ Paulinæ*, differs in some respects from those which must prove our theory. His proof rests in the undesigned, our argument chiefly in the designed, coincidences. But the distinction is more in the argument deduced than in the parallels which are to prove it. While we do not recognize the design of a coincidence, we may argue the contemporary labours of the same pen almost as fairly as Paley does the common authorship of the two writings in which the coincidence occurs. Now among the personal topics of these very letters, most of which, we have seen, can be connected with the general argument, one instance occurs of a coincidence, the design of which is not divulged. This coincidence, which may still be left among the undesigned, is in the mention of the “thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me,” which Paley identifies with “my temptation, which was in my flesh,” comparing 2 Cor. xii. 1—9 with Gal. iv. 11—16. Now, leaving this coincidence to the secret of the author’s mind, we must remember that it occurs in the two Epistles which we have grouped together by a discovered unity of purpose. A coincidence which we cannot trace to the general connexion between the two Epistles must be allowed the weight of its independent testimony. The time had arrived when a like appeal to the senses and memory of both Churches was peculiarly needed.

XXVI. Without venturing to assert any thing respecting the nature of this infirmity or temptation, a further coincidence may be pointed out in the manner of its introduction

³ Gal. i. 1.

into the two letters. Let a person read them with the idea in his mind that the writer had been *blind at the time of his first preaching*, and the beauty and appositeness of the thoughts will be enhanced. Gal. iv. 13—15: “Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you at the first. And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye *would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me.*” The expression suits the notion of a defect in the preacher’s sight. To the Corinthians, (2 ch. iv. v.) St. Paul compares the blindness of unbelievers with the light shining in his own heart; but then, he accompanies this obvious comparison with not so obvious a personal regret: “We have this treasure in earthen vessels⁴,” as if those very revelations had been a cause of special trial, and as if strength of spiritual sight were made perfect in weakness of bodily vision. Speaking of his “light affliction,” he is led to say, “While we look not at the things which are seen⁵:” and again, “We walk by faith, not by sight⁶.”

The above parallels are added for little purpose beyond the simple one of exhibiting a contemporary hand in these two Epistles, the 2 Corinthians and the Galatians. The idea passes into other Epistles; but if definition precedes the application of terms, the idea should have its origin in the Hebrews: “faith is . . . the evidence of things not seen⁷.”

XXVII. St. Paul describes a state of nonage in which the judaizing teachers actually held those Corinthians and Galatians whom they could persuade to return to it, and insists upon Christians being out of such a nonage by an analogy drawn from the Jewish child attaining the age of responsibility.

⁴ 2 Cor. iv. 7.

⁶ Ib. v. 7.

⁵ Ib. ver. 18.

⁷ Heb. xi. 1.

The custom was, for the Jewish father, on his son's completing his thirteenth year, to witness before ten other Jews that his son was out of his nonage, and become a son of the *precept*, whereby he was in future to answer in person for his actions, for which, previously, his father had been responsible. It seems that a like period of infancy was sought to be observed under the Christian dispensation.

The general principle is referred to in one place, contrasting the full age of Christianity with the nonage of Judaism. "Now I say, That the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons How turn ye again" (he therefore asks of the Galatians) "to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage⁸?"

XXVIII. The age at which the Jewish child took upon himself the profession of obedience to the law, was referred to in another passage, as we may judge from the way in which St. Paul draws attention to the allegory of Hagar: "Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law⁹?" and from the point in the law to which they were referred, which was the distinction between the sons born after the flesh and after the spirit. Now Ishmael was thirteen years old when he was circumcised; and being cast out for mocking on the same day that Isaac was weaned, fourteen years was the age at which the son of the bondwoman became responsible, and lost the heritage of the son of the free.

XXIX. That which at first diverts attention from this

⁸ Gal. iv. 1, 2. 4, 5. 9.

⁹ Ib. ver. 21.

fourteenth year of a Jewish child's completed pupilage, is St. Paul's use of the same term of years in regard to himself, of whom he says, "I knew a man in Christ about fourteen years ago (*πρὸ ἑτῶν δεκατεσσάρων*) . . . caught up to the third heaven¹." But a connexion is found in the figure by which he transfers to himself the case of the misled Corinthian converts, and the analogy is full of reality. Had the first thirteen years of a believer been years of infirmity, St. Paul will glory therein. The fact of his being caught up into paradise he repeats twice, as one might affirm it of another, but as often withdraws from knowing of himself whether he were then in the body or out of the body. All that we know of the revelation and the fourteen years is, that they are somehow connected, but it seems the Apostle's purpose to baffle the observing days, and months, and times, and years. It is the argument alone tells us that the revelation occurred in years which might be considered years of infirmity.

XXX. These two fourteen years, the one implied in the Epistle to the Galatians, and the other mentioned in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, but in a way which would be most intelligible to the original receivers of that letter, require another passage from the Epistle to the Galatians to explain their connexion. For in that Epistle is another reference to a period of fourteen years in St. Paul's life, and (by the mention in both places of a revelation attendant upon it) we might suppose the same fourteen years dating from his conversion. "Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation²." This "fourteen years" we may take to be after "it pleased God to reveal his Son in" St. Paul, that he "might preach him among the heathen³." On this visit to Jerusalem

¹ 2 Cor. xii. 2.

² Gal. ii. 1, 2.

³ Ib. i. 15, 16.

St. Paul was allowed to continue in his gospel to the Gentiles and in his liberty in Christ Jesus, the Apostles consenting to divide their missions, while they retained communion.

A "fourteen years" of St. Paul's life thus brings us back to the subject of converts, such as Titus, being or not being compelled to be circumcised, while the analogy to the Jewish custom is kept, in St. Paul becoming personally responsible, and out of the tutelage of those who were in Christ before him.

XXXI. There are expressions important enough to stamp the character of an Epistle by the manner in which they are introduced and used in it. The expression "a new creature" (*καὶνὴ κτίσις*) is of this kind.

It could not be introduced for the first time without some explanatory context. In Hebrews, 1 Corinthians, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians, it is not found at all. In 2 Corinthians it rises out of the subject of that Epistle, the ministry of reconciliation. "Therefore if any man be in Christ he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold all things are become new. And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation⁴." In the Galatians (vi. 15) it simply forms part of a dogma assumed and argued upon in a closing summary of the contents of that Epistle. In the Philippians and Romans (6th and 7th chapters) the subject is felt, but in the Ephesians it is the prevailing topic, and, therefore, as of course, it is so in the Colossians also. Does not this distinction suggest a division of the Epistles into two groups, composed, as above enumerated, of those before and those after the second Epistle to Corinth? It is not meant that the idea was remote from the

⁴ 2 Cor. v. 17, 18.

mind of the writer, even in the Epistles⁵ which do not name it expressly, but only that its mention indicates a stage in the argument. The "new covenant" of the Epistle to the Hebrews and 1 Corinthians precedes the "new creature" of 2 Corinthians and Galatians, while the "newness of the spirit," "the old man," &c., of Romans and Ephesians, are phrases of later thought and growth in argument.

XXXII. It is important that we test the order of the Epistolary argument by this word. Can we ascertain, from points in connexion with it, that we have rightly arranged the Epistle to Galatia after the Epistles to Corinth? This we can from the aphorism which contains, in the former, these words, 'the new creature.' If two letters repeat an aphorism in nearly the same language, there is reason to believe them the more nearly contemporary of such a series. But observe the context defining the new creature occurs in 2 Corinthians, the Epistle we suppose intermediate to those containing an aphorism, differing only by this word.

1 Cor. vii. 19: "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God." Gal. v. 6: "For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision: but faith which worketh by love." Gal. vi. 15: "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature."

We should almost have pronounced the argument stationary, judging from the repetition of the first part of the aphorism, but the variety in the second part tells us that the argument had changed from keeping the commandments to faith working by love, and to the new creature. The Epistle to the Galatians gives an historic demonstration how valueless were circumcision and uncircumcision, and casts a retrospect on the law perverted, and on love fulfilling

⁵ Hebrews ix. 11 speaks of a tabernacle οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως.

the law, and, by restoration of the neighbour overtaken in a fault, proceeds, as 2 Corinthians had done before it, to the rule of "the new creature." This is surely an independent confirmation of the passage in 2 Corinthians being the foundation of the rest, which introduce the new creature.

XXXIII. The above is not the only aphorism of the Epistles to the Corinthians repeated to the Galatians. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" occurs in 1 Cor. v. 6, and also in Gal. v. 9. But this, again, is a sign of the continuity of the argument, from the need of "keeping the commandments" to the avail of "faith working by love;" for in the former St. Paul applies the principle to the Gentile leaven of the fornicating brother, in the latter to the old leaven of the judaizing Christian.

The relations, therefore, between the Epistle to the Galatians and other Epistles, bear evidence in this chapter chiefly to two points; firstly, that the Epistle to the Hebrews preceded that to the Galatians; secondly, that of all other Epistles submitted to examination, the second Epistle to the Corinthians has the most intimate coincidence with that to the Galatians. Principal points of Christian doctrine, such as *the Mediator*, &c., abruptly or obscurely introduced to the Galatians, receive explanation from discussions on the same points, free from obscurity, to the Hebrews. A single hortatory passage to the Galatians contains three or four words of striking epistolary import, such as *boast*, &c., but the particular use of all of them is derivable from a more general usage in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This similarity, which appears in the derivation of words, corroborates the impression that subjects of the Epistle to the Hebrews are resumed to the Galatians after the Epistles to Corinth. But the especial connexion between the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Galatians is evinced by their connected account of

an inconsistency charged against St. Paul, namely, of preaching circumcision, because his separation of a Christian offender seemed like a Jewish separation; by coincidences relating to an anathema laid against certain false brethren, authors of this perversion of Christian discipline; by supplemental notices of the Christian period of St. Paul's biography; by supplemental proofs that his Gospel was not human, but divine, his Apostleship not of men, but of God; by coincident appeals to his early years of infirmity; by mutual illustration as to the fourteenth year from his conversion; by the freshness in both Epistles of the topic, the new creature, its efficacy and necessity.

This list of coincidences may serve to show that there is a connected system in the Epistles, and that among the most closely united are the Epistles to Corinth and Galatia.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS AND OTHER EPISTLES.

I. ALTHOUGH we may have drawn the Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians into closer connexion, by exhibiting in them the presence of a common topic so local as the case of the Corinthian offender; yet it might be doubted whether any such connexion would be continued in an Epistle of great generality to strangers, like the Romans. In vain does the Epistle to the Romans present the most marked parallels to the Epistle to the Galatians; for an incident at Corinth could scarcely be expected to combine into one group the Epistles to two stranger cities. Comparison, however, will show, that the Epistle to the Romans might owe its origin, remotely and by intervention of other Epistles, to the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

In the Corinthian Epistles, we have an offence with its punishment and absolution; in the Galatian, we have this treatment the subject of misrepresentation and cavil; in the Roman, we have the generalization:—all are under sin, but we are justified by the Death of Christ, and shall be saved by His Life. The combination of circumstances at Corinth is sufficient to account for such passages to the Romans as “do we then make void the law through faith?” “What, then, shall we sin because we are not under the law, but under faith?” inquiries affecting both the persons who cavil at the pardon of an offence, and the persons who would

presume upon it. On no other occasion of the Apostle's history was the Jew in a better position to put such objections than after the event at Corinth. The whole Jewish spirit of self-righteousness was aroused against the one sinner that repenteth. To such Jews the Apostle says, in the Epistle to the Romans, "The free gift is of many offences unto justification¹." "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them . . . who walk . . . after the spirit²." "Much more then, being now justified by His Blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him³."

This generalization is consistent with the representation Neander has given of the Apostle's mode of reasoning. "In the example of Paul, we recognize the peculiar character of the Apostolic mode of refuting error, and how it differs from that of later times. While this busies itself with the confutation of particular error, Paul, on the contrary, seized the root of the doctrine in its peculiar religious, fundamental tendency, from which all the particular errors proceeded, and opposed to it the spirit of the Gospel⁴."

II. Another characteristic of the Epistle to the Romans is, that its argument, as far as the eleventh chapter, presents points of contact with each and every one of the main arguments of the other Epistles; and that these points of contact seem to occur in nearly the same order as that in which we suppose the other Epistles to have been written.

Thus leaving for future consideration the relation of the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews, we find these following parallels between the Epistles to the Romans and the First to the Corinthians. In 1 Cor. iv. 5: "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, Who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts." In Rom. ii. 1:

¹ Chap. v. 16.

² Ib. viii. 1.

³ Ib. v. 9.

⁴ Planting of the Christian Church, Vol. I. Book 3, chap. 8, translated by J. E. Ryland. 1842.

“Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same things.” Here is the point in which one Epistle most evidently continues the other. It represses the censorious spirit which characterized the disputes at Corinth. The opening chapters of one Epistle recall those of the other. The wisdom-seeking Greek had had Christ preached to him, whom he counted foolishness⁵. The Greek and barbarian, professing themselves to be wise, become fools in rejection of God⁶. The sign-seeking Jew had found a stumbling-block in the doctrine of Christ⁷, that the base things of the world had been chosen⁸; and now again they who monopolize their boast of God, learn how uncircumcision shall be counted for circumcision⁹.

The Epistles to the Thessalonians, treating as they do of the approaching day of Christ, and of the apostacy which must precede it, offer occasion for parallels in the early parts of the Epistle to the Romans, on the wrath revealed from heaven against those who hold or withhold the truth in unrighteousness¹; on the delusion which they believe to their own damnation²; and on the vengeance of God³ in the judgment.

The contact of the Epistle to the Romans and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is, where it might be expected, at the main point of the argument of the latter Epistle, the reconciliation of sinners by God not imputing their trespasses unto them. This will be seen by a reference to the fifth chapters of these two Epistles, although it is always a contact of continued generalization more than of simple verbal coincidence.

⁵ 1 Cor. i. 22, 23.

⁷ 1 Cor. i. 23.

⁹ Rom. ii. 17. 26.

² 2 Thess. ii. ; Rom. i. 28, &c.

⁶ Rom. i. 22.

⁸ Ibid. ver. 28.

¹ Ibid. i. 18 ; 2 Thess. i. ii.

³ 2 Thess. i. 7—10 ; Rom. ii. 5 ; iii. 5.

The parallels of the Epistles to the Galatians and Romans are multiplied and obvious. There is offered to the Romans an ampler demonstration of nearly every point touched to the Galatians, but no argument is repeated to precisely the same purpose. We may, as an instance, compare St. Paul's inferences from identical quotations of Scripture⁴, in the matter of Abraham's faith. In the one Epistle he draws a conclusion at once, while in the other he takes a whole chapter to substantiate what might at first sight seem the same truth. The contact between these Epistles is chiefly seen at the 6th and 7th chapters to the Romans, and is of course made at the main topic of the Epistle to the Galatians, namely, justification.

The example of the Epistles to Corinth and Galatia, in giving parallels to the Epistle to the Romans at their respective main themes, is seen in the case of the other Epistles. It confirms the theory according to which we place the Epistle to the Romans after the hitherto examined Epistles, to observe the special purpose of the Epistle to the Philippians. While it pursues the personal topic of the Galatian and Second Corinthian Epistles by recounting the Apostle's loss of all for Christ's sake, it makes this topic serve the general purpose of inducing Christians to possess in themselves the self-denying mind of Christ. On this point, this Epistle develops the exhortations which in Rom. xi. 20, xii. 16, xv. 2, flow from the asserted equal privileges and responsibilities of Jewish and Gentile Christians.

The general impression of the Epistle to the Colossians is, to derive the fulness of Christian privileges and duties from the open declaration of the Gospel, its object seeming to be to assure the Christian that he (whether Jew or Gentile) is *complete in Christ*; its contact with the Epistle to the

⁴ Rom. iv. 3 ; Gal. iii. 6.

Romans is felt in the description of the baptismal burial and rising again with Christ ⁵, as well as in those parts in which the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians have their contact.

The Epistle to the Ephesians opens with the subjects of predestination and election, at which the argumentative part of the Epistle to the Romans ended. The chapters from the eighth to the eleventh, in which these two topics are introduced to the Romans, are also those in which most verbal parallels are to be found between that Epistle and the Epistle to the Ephesians. The Headship of Christ over all things, may be considered a main doctrine of this latter Epistle, and one of the three several climaxes which the three latest Epistles add to the Roman argument.

The above comparison of the special topics of the several Epistles with those of the Epistle to Rome (subject to the doubt which attends all selections of supposed main themes), proves that this last-named Epistle is not foreign to the series; but a generalization of the previous, and a ground of the later Epistles. The unity of the system would seem evident from this fact. This Epistle is argued in a manner so deep and abstract, that one might expect it to show how the whole argument arose. Every effort being made by the Apostle to set his subject in the most logical position before a new and great audience, we should imagine here, more than in any other Epistle, we had got the order of his general argument. The order in which the topics in the Epistle to the Romans follow each other, might well be the order in which the whole correspondence proceeded. This order coincides with our hypothesis with apparent certainty in regard to three at least of the Epistles, namely, those to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians.

III. There are one or two short and easy confirmations

⁵ Rom. vi ; Col. ii. 12 ; iii. 1—4.

of the Epistle to the Romans being a generalization of the previous arguments.

1. The double character of the sin contrasted in the first and second chapters to the Romans, carries with it the strongest evidence of one purpose pervading all the Epistles. There is the sin against chastity and the sin against charity, answering the one to the leaven of the Gentile, the other to the leaven of the Jew; the licentious sinner of the first, and the censorious sinner of the second chapter to the Romans, correspond with the Corinthian and the Thessalonian; the fornicator and the profane. These two characters the Apostle had seen dividing the Church; and a remembrance of them now influenced the impressions under which he writes to Rome. The Greeks' wisdom was now become the very foolishness of sin, the Jews' sign-seeking was turned to the sin of judging. The Apostle's discipline for the immoral Christian had been defined by the example taken out of one part of his diocese, and the discipline of the censorious busybody had been distinguished in an instance taken from another part of it; now these two most general and opposite faults, the pride of dead works and the license of dead faith, are set over against each other in the front of the Epistle to Rome. These are the types of sin which classify those who hold the truth in unrighteousness. Even from their birth the one and the other "are without excuse⁶."

2. The Jews had imagined that the Gentile born out of covenant with God would, as from his very birth, incur the penalty due to sin. To distinguish, therefore, between the sin of the Gentile and his Gentile birth appears to be a general design, belonging in common to the whole series of Epistles, and causes the Apostle to prove to the Romans all, both Jews and Gentiles, under sin. The distinction between the sin and the birth of the Gentile connects the

⁶ Rom. i. 20; ii. 1.

various Epistles in these places: in Heb. xii. 15, where we find sin in Christians defiling others; in 1 Cor. v. 9, 10, the sinner rather than the Gentile singled out for avoidance; in 2 Cor. vi. 11—18, permission given to restore the penitent to the Christian society, and the recompence asked that they would mark the distinction more decidedly, without mistaking the Apostle's real purpose; in Galatians, St. Peter's separation distinguished from St. Paul's. Now, all these passages have their proper climax in the exposure of the wilful confusion of the sin with the birth of the Gentile, and of the innate evil principle on which the mistake is founded, here in the Epistle to the Romans.

The defilement to be feared from the presence of such an offender, is mentioned under analogies bearing a complex connexion in Heb. xii. 15: "Lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled;" 1 Cor. v. 6, 7: "Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump;" and Gal. v. 7—9: "Ye did run well; who did hinder you . . . a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." The comparisons to the root and leaven meet in one figure to the Romans, xi. 16: "For if the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches;" while these places of the Epistles to the Hebrews and Galatians are united with one another by the obstruction they allude to, in the path of Christians. The connexion between the parts of the general argument is felt in the connexion of the metaphors which are so intertwined in each Epistle, as to need the whole series to be compared before the appearance of confusion or contradiction is entirely removed.

These two considerations then, the double course of the argument dealing at once with the sin and the birth question, and the double character of the sins reprov'd as confessed vices and self-satisfied condemnation of others, assure

us that the Roman argument is a part of the general system, in which the Apostle keeps constantly in view this discrimination of things confused by his opponents.

IV. It remains to give one sign of the position of the Epistle to the Romans in that general argument. This position may be roughly shown from the very parenthetical title which the Apostle assumes at the beginning of his Epistle to the Romans. In a former case we have said that these titles usually have their confirmation in the body of the Epistle which contains them. And doubtless this also is the case with the Roman Epistle and the title at the head of it. But both Epistle and Apostolic title are likewise results of a foregone argument. As such, the address supplies a probable order to the Epistle.

Cleared of parentheses, the address would run thus: "Paul . . . separated unto the Gospel of God . . . concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord . . . to all that be in Rome." Of the parentheses, that in the third verse respecting the Gospel and its being promised before by the Prophets, may refer us to the address of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and as will be shown in the next section, probably signifies the doctrines contained in that Epistle. The second parenthesis respects the seed of David, according to the flesh, being declared (*ὁρισθέντος*) to be the Son of God by the resurrection of the dead; this also may be the digression in which the objective doctrines to the Hebrews have been seen developed in the subjective doctrines of the first Corinthian and other Epistles. But the next parenthesis, "by whom we have received grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith," determines the state of the controversy, and the issue of the previous Epistles. "This Apostleship, as not of men," &c., we have already seen St. Paul labouring to enforce in the Epistles which we place immediately before this to the Romans. And now we may add, that the expression to the Romans, "separated (*ἀφω-*

ρισμένος) unto the Gospel," is just that of which the Galatians had been persuaded by him, who was "separated" from his mother's womb, and was called by grace to reveal the Son of God among the heathen⁷. Separation is just that point and topic of which the Apostle is the object in his own person after the Corinthian and Galatian, the Pauline and Petrine, separation had turned thitherward the current of the correspondence.

Having now shown how the Epistle to the Romans holds a necessary position, and what is its probable position, in the Epistolary series, the design of the ensuing sections will be, to use this Epistle to develope further the true nature of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and to group in succession round some of the more striking passages to the Romans, such facts as tend to illustrate the general system and order of the Epistles.

⁷ Gal. i. 15, 16.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION II.

RELATION BETWEEN THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS AND THE EPISTLES TO THE HEBREWS, I CORINTHIANS, AND THESSALONIANS.

I. THE object of instituting a comparison between the parallel passages of the first Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Romans is not to prove merely the priority of the first-named Epistle. This is the most patent and certain fact in the whole of the chronology of the Epistles. To the Romans, St. Paul notices his being on his way to Jerusalem with those contributions of Macedonia and Achaia¹, the making of which is *ordered* in the first Epistle to the Corinthians², and the *making-up* of which is arranged in the second Epistle³. St. Paul went to Corinth in the interval between writing the second Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Romans.

The Epistle to the Romans being obviously after the Corinthian Epistles, no further direct proof of its being after the Epistle to the Hebrews will be given, both because the former chapters treat of the priority of the Epistle to the Hebrews before those to Corinth, and because in the present section a proof of the sequence of the Roman Epis-

¹ Rom. xv. 25—27.

² 1 Cor. xvi. 1.

³ 2 Cor. ix. 5.

tle to the Hebrew one is involved in the consistency of the plan, which regards the Epistle to the Hebrews as the first member of a series of Epistles, having for a common object the warning against the danger of the judaizing apostasy.

II. If we are to neglect the inscription *ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴ* as not by the author's own hand, there is little internal evidence of the Epistle being addressed to particular emergencies, besides the character of the persons whose spiritual danger was contemplated in the hortatory passages. "Ye are dull of hearing" (*ἐπεὶ νωθροὶ γέγονατε ταῖς ἀκοαῖς*), says the writer in the fifth chapter, "for when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God," &c. "But, beloved," continues the writer in the sixth chapter, "we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak, . . . and we desire that every one of you do show the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end; that ye be not slothful (*νωθροὶ*), but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises⁴." Here, the qualities of the persons addressed are found to be, so far as our version is concerned, "dull of hearing" in the beginning, "slothful" in the end, of this passage; but these qualities are expressed by one word, *νωθροὶ*, in the original, defined by the need of being taught again when for the time one ought to teach.

Now, different degrees of familiarity with particular Christian doctrines are not meant in the passages where this epithet *νωθροὶ* is twice employed: rather, when we observe how the supposition, "if they shall fall away who were once enlightened," intervenes between the two uses of the word; we should imagine the writer anticipated a danger

⁴ Heb. v. 11—vi. 12.

no less than that of a relapse into Judaism after conversion to Christianity. For, in the eighth chapter to the Hebrews, we have the same need of men teaching, and being taught, referred to, when the distinction between the Old and New Covenant is shown to consist in this; "They shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know Me, from the least to the greatest⁵:" and in the tenth chapter there is a like description of the "covenant that I will make with them after those days, saith the Lord, I will put My laws into their hearts⁶."

III. Other hortatory passages plainly warn again apostasy: such as, in the third chapter: "Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God⁷," spoken by way of stimulus towards the true rest; and in the tenth chapter, as an inducement to patience under affliction: "Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward . . . if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him⁸." And whatever is not, in general terms, directed against sin, as for instance: "If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth⁹," exhibits a contrast between the motives of a Christian and a Jew: "If the word spoken by angels was stedfast . . . how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation¹?" and, "If they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from Him that speaketh from heaven²."

We find, then, Christians who had been early converted to the faith, (since for the time they ought to be teachers) addressed, in the mass, upon the danger of apostasy. Such Christians could only be Jewish Christians, declining from the faith to the law; for to these alone could previous pos-

⁵ Heb. viii. 11.⁶ Ib. x. 16.⁷ Ib. iii. 12.⁸ Ib. x. 35—38.⁹ Ib. ver. 26.¹ Ib. ii. 2, 3.² Ib. xii. 25.

session of the form of knowledge in the law give such a precedence, that "they ought to be teachers." Moreover, the admission, that one section of Christians might have precedence over another, implies a period not long after Christianity had supplanted Judaism; for in the fuller development of Christianity the right of precedence, grounded on an earlier knowledge of God, would fail. This relapse to Judaism, and the consequent temptation or perversion of the Gentiles to the same errors, constituted the emergency to which the series of Epistles may chiefly be attributed. This, too, might well cause the Apostle to open the series with an Epistle in which no minor particular intrudes among its personal topics.

IV. If these conclusions appear more than are warranted by the evidence deducible from the Epistle to the Hebrews alone, they will be justified by their consistency with what may be deduced from other Epistles, respecting the parties addressed in them as Hebrews.

The whole Jewish boast, in Rom. ii. 17—20, might be brought to bear upon this definition of the persons to whom the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed. The claims of superiority over the Gentiles: "And art confident thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law³;" with their condemnation: "Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself⁴?" afford a direct test of the truth of our supposition respecting the Hebrews.

St. Paul must be supposed to speak throughout to one set of persons; through the Church of Rome he speaks to the Jew of every Church; in the Epistle to the Hebrews he seems to do so likewise; the string of Jewish vaunts in the Roman Epistle recognizes the language in the Corinthian, but the Epistle to the Hebrews contains the germ of both.

³ Rom. ii. 19, 20.

⁴ Ib. ver. 21.

Whether at the Epistle to the Hebrews, or at that to the Romans, the question be asked, ‘from what state were these persons expected to pass into the position of teachers?’ the answer must be, ‘from the law;’ these, having been instructed out of the law themselves, were expected to become teachers of others through their early advantages. On this simple acknowledgment of the common period, or phase of religion, to which they refer, the Roman passage⁵ may be developed out of the Hebrew one⁶, and the like language in the other Epistles will proceed from definition to conventional usage, in a connected manner, according to our order.

V. In examining the expression, “teacher of babes,”—signs of the first use of *νήπιος*, &c., appear on the side of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews there is a definition of both the figures of speech: the *babe* is there defined to be one using milk, unskilful in the word of righteousness, needing to be taught again first principles; the opposite character, *τέλειος*, the *full grown*, is likewise defined, as one to whom belongs strong meat, who for the time should be a teacher, to whom use of the senses has given discernment⁶.

VI. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians these epithets are mixed with others in a way which defines them so little, that we can only give the Apostle’s meaning without bias, when we leave them untranslated. Thus, the Apostle tells the Corinthians of a spiritual wisdom which he speaks “among them that are perfect⁷,” by which class none better may be meant than the Epistle to the Hebrews means by “them that are of full age⁸,” the words being in the original the same. Avoiding confusion by leaving the epithets untranslated, we find then, this kind of person, the *τέλειος*, is in 1 Cor. ii. 6, &c. contrasted as to spiritual discern-

⁵ Rom. ii. 20, 21.

⁶ Heb. v. 12—14.

⁷ *τελείους*, 1 Cor. ii. 6.

⁸ Heb. v. 14.

ment with the *ψυχικός*; these two terms are next changed into the *πνευματικὸς* and *σαρκικός*, contrasted with somewhat similar effect; for immediately afterwards the epithet *νήπιος* restores us to the very contrast of the Epistle to the Hebrews¹. When thus *νήπιος* is contrasted with *τέλειος* after such an interval, the two descriptions of food, the *milk* and the *meat*, are also at once contrasted, as though there had been retained in the mind the same definition of infancy and age as was expressed in the other Epistle².

VII. In some passages, the conception of these characters might appear equally broad and simple in the two Epistles, identifying Christianity with the adult and Judaism with the infant age. Thus the Epistle to the Hebrews explains how the Christian has been put in the way of salvation: "For the law made nothing perfect (*ἐτελείωσεν*), but the bringing in of a better hope did; by the which we draw nigh unto God³." And the same identification of the respective ages with the two dispensations is perceived in the other Epistle: "For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect (*τέλειον*) is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child (*νήπιος*), I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things⁴." But, even here, a quality is implied in the Corinthian *νήπιος*, beyond that of the simple babe in understanding, of the Hebrew Epistle. For the extract is from the Corinthian chapter on *charity*; and precisely the opposite quality of dissension or quarrelsomeness is connected with the Corinthian *νήπιος* in the other places. That passage in their Epistle which first introduced the *νήπιος*, was continued by a proof of their being *carnal* (*σαρκικός*) through *contentions*⁵. And that which last brings it in, annexes the same idea: "Brethren, be not children in

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 6—iii. 1.

² 1 Cor. iii. 2.

³ Heb. vii. 19.

⁴ 1 Cor. xiii. 9—11.

⁵ Ib. iii. 3, &c.

understanding : howbeit *in malice* be ye children (*νηπιάζετε*), but in understanding be men ⁶” (*τέλειοι γίνεσθε*).

VIII. Now this is not merely a logical development; for, seeking the uses in another Epistle of a metaphor duly defined to the Hebrews, we find that the qualities added to the primary notion of the ‘babe’ are, in the other Epistle, precisely those which indicate the growth of controversy. If there was contentiousness in the character described by *νήπιος*, to the Hebrews, this characteristic was suppressed to them. How much more likely that it was subsequently exhibited to the Corinthians as controversy called it forth!

IX. In the Epistle to the Galatians another term (*δοῦλος*), a bound person, is combined with *νήπιος*; the passage introducing *νήπιος* being: “Now I say, that the heir, as long as he is a child (*νήπιος*), differeth nothing from a servant (*δούλου*), though he be lord of all⁷.” An assertion is here made of the bondage of the child, not of the childhood of the bound person. The childhood is a point assumed.

X. The childhood which is thus assumed to define a religious state, and the return to which is to be proved (to the Galatians) a return to bondage, is the period of the law: “We, when we were children (*νήπιοι*), were in bondage under the elements (*ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα*) of the world—but now—how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements (*στοιχεῖα*), whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage⁸?” The word (*στοιχεῖα*), for elements, has been inserted from the original in this passage, in order to show that a supposition of the Apostle using the same terms, in two Epistles, to denote different religious states, destroys his meaning; and to prove that the easiest way to understand

⁶ 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

⁷ Gal. iv. 1.—Heb. v. 8, 9, proves this respecting the “Lord of all,” and it is true of the “many sons” by Heb. ii. 10. 15.

⁸ Gal. iv. 3. 9.

him is, with verbal accuracy, to connect his Epistles. The boast in the Epistle to the Romans is: "What advantage then hath the Jew? . . . chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God" (τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ⁹). These two Epistles then, to the Romans and Galatians, find the fulness of their abbreviated expressions in the passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews we have been, in this present chapter, comparing with the rest: "Ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God" (τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λόγων τοῦ Θεοῦ¹). Hence there cannot be any thing more certain, than that the Jewish state is the one from which the Apostle would have the Hebrews make progress, and in the other Epistles the one to which he will admit of no return. The state from which the Hebrews had to advance was not a mature and experienced Christianity, but Judaism; and in selecting between two such meanings of their advantageous position, we choose once for all our theory of the order of the Epistles, and may decide our opinion of the Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

We might add other series illustrative of the phrase διδάσκαλος νηπίων: such as to the Hebrews, "which speaketh unto you as unto children (νιόις)²:" to the Corinthians, "As my beloved sons (τέκνα) I warn you³;" and, "I speak as unto children (τέκνοις)⁴:" to the Galatians when his work has to be done over again, "My little children (τεκνία μου), of whom I travail in birth again till Christ be formed in you⁵." Such is one series; there is another to correspond, appeal being made to the example, 1st, of the

⁹ Rom. iii. 1, 2.

¹ Heb. v. 12. And their common language best explains the following passages: "If we live in the spirit, let us walk (στοιχῶμεν) in the spirit." (Gal. v. 25.) "Hagar answereth (συστοιχεῖ) to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children." (Gal. iv. 25.) "Who walk (στοιχοῦσι) in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham." (Rom. iv. 12.)

² Heb. xii. 5.

³ 1 Cor. iv. 14.

⁴ 2 Cor. vi. 13.

⁵ Gal. iv. 19.

Lord in Hebrews; 2nd, of Apostles in the first Epistle; and 3rd, of Ministers in the second Epistle to the Corinthians⁶.

XI. The Judaizing apostasy has been illustrated by parallels relating to the pretensions of one Christian to teach another; and this claim of doctrinal superiority brings the first Epistle to the Corinthians into contact with the Roman in the early parts of both Epistles. In like illustration of the same apostasy we may now use the remaining parallels of these two Epistles, remarking, that a probable reason for the break in them is, that there are also corresponding breaks in the purely controversial treatment of the Jew and Gentile question. The first Epistle to Corinth treats a question under two aspects, which we may call a Corinthian and a Gentile aspect, as a case of actual sin, and as a case of assumed inferiority of grace in a Gentile. Jew and Gentile differences open the Corinthian Epistle; but the judgment on the sinner breaks in, so that these religious scruples and distinctions are not resumed till we come to the eighth and ninth chapters of that Epistle. The Corinthian incident is abstracted into a question about sin, and in that

⁶ In the Epistle to the Hebrews we hear of Christ as a Son over His own house (*οἶκον*), whose house (*οἶκος*) are we, being accounted of more glory than Moses, who was faithful (*πιστὸς*) in all his house as a servant. In the first to the Corinthians we hear Apostles are to be accounted stewards (*οἰκονόμους*), and as a steward a man is required to be faithful (*πιστός*). (1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.) Hence we understand the point of the Galatian analogy, that the heir, while a child, is under governors, *οἰκονόμους* (Gal. iv. 2).

There is an order also in the series contrasted with the above. Thus to Hebrews, the subjection to the Father of Spirits has, for contrast, the reverence (*ἐντροπόμεθα*) given to fathers of the flesh (Heb. xii. 9); the warning of a father who had begotten them through the Gospel, is contrasted with the shame (*ἐντρέπων*) to which the Corinthians were put by pedagogues, *παιδαγωγούς* (1 Cor. iv. 15). And the many pedagogues of the Corinthians are abstracted into one pedagogue, the law, to the Galatians, "but after that faith is come, ye are no longer under a schoolmaster. For ye are all the children (*υἱοὶ*) of God by faith in Christ Jesus." (Gal. iii. 25, 26.)

generalized form runs out its course as far as the eleventh chapter to the Romans, the part which is usually called the argumentative part of that Epistle. Here lie, as we shall see, the parallels with the Epistles already examined. The Jew and Gentile question, in the simply controversial form, with which the Roman Epistle opens, is resumed in the twelfth chapter, and produces parallels, as at first, with 1 Corinthians. There is, in this digression in one Epistle, something very confirmatory of the digression which we suppose to take place in the system of Epistles.

XII. These parallels, in the later chapters to the Romans and Corinthians, upon the simile of the members of the body⁷, and upon the variety of gifts⁸, are so strong, that they might rather be thought repetitions. But closer observation will show that the Roman Christian is directed to self-inspection, the Corinthian taught how to regard others.

The question, in the same controversial shape, illustrative of the dangers of those who pretend to be teachers, brings the fourteenth chapter to the Romans into close verbal connexion with the eighth and ninth chapters of the first Epistle to Corinth, minute differences of order in the topics alone showing the different points of view, from which the scruples and the treatment of the scrupulous are regarded in the two Epistles⁹. The Apostle's personal example is the subject nearest allied to these scruples in both Epistles, because his teaching involved Gentile intercourse; accordingly, the ninth chapter to the Corinthians is developed in the fifteenth to the Romans. Not only is the method of his being "brought on his way" continued; and the Macedonian and Achaian collection concluded, but the point whereof he will *glory* in

⁷ Rom. xii. 4; 1 Cor. xii. 12.

⁸ Rom. xii. 5—7; 1 Cor. xii. 28.

⁹ Rom. xiv. 15 with 1 Cor. viii. 11; Rom. xiv. 14 with 1 Cor. ix. 4; Rom. xiv. 21 with 1 Cor. ix. 22.

his preaching is resumed¹; the Gentile contribution is shown to commit the saints at Jerusalem to communion, as it had the Gentiles to subjection to the Gospel²; and the *debt* of the Gentile to the Jew for partaking in his spiritual things³, is recognized, correspondent to the debt of the Jew to teach⁴.

Nothing can explain the transfer of some terms from their primary to a Pauline sense, unless St. Paul intended to refer his readers to his previous Epistles. The Roman issue of the uses of the word "seal"⁵ is the Apostle's "*sealing* to the Gentiles this fruit⁶;" and from "this service" (*λειτουργίας*)⁷ the Apostle assumes to himself a title beyond even what the Judaizer claimed, namely, to be "the minister (*λειτουργόν*) of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering (*ἱερουργοῦντα*)⁸ the Gospel of God that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost⁹." Between himself and his opponents, who "for the time ought to be teachers," St. Paul contrasted all terms which could express diversity, and to the latest Epistles the pretensions of the older, or Jewish converts, are recognized by derivatives from the terms in which he first opposed them.

XIII. The separation between the parallels of the Epistles to Rome and Corinth is confirmed by a like interval between the early and late Roman parallels with the Epistles to the Thessalonians. For in the early part of the Epistle to Rome we have the Divine vengeance referred to, "Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance¹⁰?" and again, in the latter part, "it is written, Vengeance is mine¹;" either

¹ Rom. xv. 17 with 1 Cor. ix. 17, &c.

² Rom. xv. 26, 27.

³ Rom. xv. 27.

⁴ Rom. i. 14; Heb. v. 12.

⁵ 1 Cor. ix. 2; 2 Cor. i. 22; Rom. iv. 11.

⁶ Rom. xv. 28.

⁷ 2 Cor. ix. 12.

⁸ Compare 1 Cor. ix. 13.

⁹ Rom. xv. 16.

¹⁰ Ib. iii. 5.

¹ Rom. xii. 19.

of which may be paralleled with 1 Thess. iv. 6, "the Lord is the Avenger of all such," and Heb. x. 30, "Vengeance belongeth unto me."

In the opening of the Roman Epistle "the wrath of God" is said to be "revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men who hold the truth in unrighteousness²;" and that the sinner who judges another "treasures up wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God³," while the latter part shows how God had "endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction⁴." These can be best paralleled by "the righteous judgment of God" in the first chapter of 2 Thessalonians, "on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ⁵;" and by the Hebrews', "fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries⁶," "from Him that speaketh from heaven⁷."

The example in the first chapter to the Romans, of those "who changed the truth of God into a lie⁸" being given "over to a reprobate mind," because "they did not like to retain God in their knowledge⁹," is the nearest point in the Epistles to that most remarkable chapter to the Thessalonians about the *falling away* which must precede the day of Christ; for it is said to the Thessalonians of apostates: "Because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved . . . for this cause God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe a lie that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness¹⁰." Later, however, to the Romans, "this mystery . . . that blindness in part is happened to Israel¹¹" does seem to resume the Thessalonian assertion, "the mys-

² Ib. i. 18.

³ Ib. ii. 5.

⁴ Ib. ix. 22.

⁵ 2 Thess. i. 5. 8.

⁶ Heb. x. 26, 27.

⁷ Ib. xii. 25.

⁸ Rom. i. 25.

⁹ Ib. i. 28.

¹⁰ 2 Thess. ii. 10—12 ; compare also Heb. vi. 6—8.

¹¹ Rom. xi. 25.

tery of iniquity doth already work¹," and the closest parallel between the two Epistles on the approach of the day of judgment is also in a late chapter to the Romans². If the passage which begins, "and that knowing the time that now it is high time to awake," &c. be compared with 1 Thess. v. 1—8, there will appear coincidences in the metaphor of the armour, in the opposition of day and night, and in the exhortation against sleep and drunkenness, in both descriptions of the coming of that day.

XIV. The restoration of the verbal parallelism confirms the continuity of the Roman to the Thessalonian references to the same topic, the judgment; the interval between the verbal parallels in the Epistle corresponding to the digression in the epistolary series. Thus the hortatory part of the Epistle to the Romans is seen to rise out of its foremost doctrinal parts; the early doctrine and the later precepts being alike adapted to quell the disturbance caused in the Church by the Judaizing pretensions.

Hence both Romans and Thessalonians are told to render no man evil for evil³. Both their Epistles had in view the Apostle's deliverance from "them that do not believe in Judea⁴." Both require the Church to avoid them which cause divisions⁵; both represent the preacher's persecution by the Jew forbidding him "to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved⁶;" both therefore seek to remove the Gentiles from the teaching of those Hebrews "who draw back unto perdition⁷."

But in this continuity of the Roman and Thessalonian topics, the priority of the Hebrews appears. For St. Paul would scarcely set over his converts teachers who would compel them to live like Jews, Jewish saints delicate about

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 7.

² Rom. xiii. 11—13.

³ 1 Thess. v. 15; Rom. xii. 17—21.

⁴ Rom. xv. 31 with 2 Thess. iii. 2.

⁵ Rom. xvi. 17 with 2 Thess. iii. 14.

⁶ 1 Thess. ii. 16 with Rom. x. 14.

⁷ Heb. x. 39.

receiving the Gentile contribution, “busy bodies” at Thessalonica, working not at all ⁸, forbidding him to speak to the Gentile that they might receive pay as teachers of circumcision. All these signs of Judaizing apostasy might precede the equalizing Jew and Gentile sinfulness to the Romans: they could not leave such a superiority in the older converts as might form a later argument to the Hebrews.

⁸ 2 Thess. iii. 11.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION III.

ON THE EPISTLES TO THE ROMANS AND TO THE HEBREWS.

I. THE passage from the Epistle to the Romans by which I seek to illustrate the position of the Hebrews is Rom. i. 13—17.

“ Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, (but was let hitherto,) that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles. I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians ; both to the wise, and to the unwise. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you that are at Rome also. For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ : for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth ; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith : as it is written, The just shall live by faith.”

II. The Epistle to the Romans begins, we may almost say, with the form of words with which we have been familiarized in the 1 Corinthians and 1 Thessalonians : “ Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren ¹.” The Apostle thus introduces himself as a debtor to Barbarians as well as Greeks, to preach the Gospel to them. The opening of the Epistle to the Romans cannot fail to recal

¹ Rom. i. 13.

that of the 1 Corinthians. In 1 Corinthians, Jews and Greeks are contrasted, as well as the kind of Gospel each expected. In the Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul proceeds from Greeks to Barbarians², while he recognizes the course of the revelation to be “to the Jew first and also to the Greek³.” The order of the Divine rewards and vengeance agrees with that of the revelation of the Gospel⁴, but there is no respect of persons with God. “Is He the God of the Jews only? is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also⁵.” Thus is the Gospel of Jesus Christ addressed in succession, as was the superscription of his accusation, to Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin; and thus does the order of St. Paul’s preaching the Gospel agree with our theory of the order of writing his Epistles.

III. In the description St. Paul gives of this Gospel which he is ready to preach at Rome also, he uses the expression: “Therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith; as it is written, The just shall live by faith⁶.”

Here then we have, by way of test of the Epistles’ order, the characteristic principle of the Apostle’s teaching.

And first for the words, “from faith to faith.” The interpretation of these words suggested by the theory of the order of the Epistles, is most consistent with the previous context to the Romans, in which an order of the Gospels is the topic. It was one step from the faith of the Jew to the faith of the Gentile; and again, it was one step from the faith of the Greek to the faith of the Barbarian. But if there be this communication of faith, there is one Epistle in which the prior step from the faith of the patriarchs to that of their descendants is strikingly displayed. That is the purport of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The numerous examples of faith there recorded are not to

² Rom. i. 14.

³ Ib. ver. 16.

⁴ Ib. ver. 16 to ii. 11.

⁵ Ib. iii. 29.

⁶ Ib. i. 17.

be without influence upon those without whom the older saints should not be made perfect ⁷.

IV. Whether the expression, "from faith to faith," be thus simply consistent with what we have supposed to be the common order of the Epistles and Gospels, or not, the parallelism of the eleventh chapter of the Hebrews is proved by the same quotation preceding that chapter which we have in juxtaposition with the words "from faith to faith" in Romans.

Habakkuk ii. 4, is thus quoted in Heb. x. 38: "Now the just shall live by faith, but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."

In Romans i. 16, 17, it occurs, as we have seen, in the following context:

"For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith."

At once to complete the parallel, we may add the one other passage in which the same quotation is found, namely, Gal. iii. 11, 12.

"But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, The just shall live by faith. And the law is not of faith."

V. Of these quotations, I venture to consider the one in Hebrews the first, and original, for the following reasons:

There alone is the quotation in full; and the connexion of it with the foregoing argument is rather by its latter part, "if any man draw back," than by its former part, "the just shall live by faith." The Apostle was urging the danger of casting away their confidence, when he drew from the Old Testament this double corroboration in a single text. But the alternative of the *just living by faith* succeeds

⁷ Heb. xi. 40.

to be developed in the next chapter to the Hebrews. And it is in character of a first statement of the proposition that every word is there emphasized; equal stress is laid upon each word; we have examples of "the just," their "faith," and their "living" by faith.

It is different in the case of the quotation to the Galatians. There St. Paul emphasizes the word *faith*. Had he proved the proposition, *The just shall live by faith*, the corollary, *they shall not be justified by the law*, would follow by the Galatian argument. The Galatians, in its quotation, displays a certain familiarity with the peculiar deductions to be made from this text. So does the Romans. But it cannot be said that the Romans proceeds out of the Galatians. Justification "from faith to faith" is coupled with this text in Romans. "Not by law" is proved by it in Galatians. These two arguments are connected together only as being joint corollaries to a more general proposition. That proposition is in the Hebrews. Exemplifications are there given of the *just living by faith*.

Had St. Paul used the text once in preaching the Gospel to the Jews, he would use the text again in going to the Gentiles. Had he used it in the sense of the Jewish patriarchs living by faith, he would be required to quote it again of their successors, the spiritual seed, the Gentiles as well as the Jews.

From these reasons, I conclude that the order of the thoughts in the passages last paralleled confirms the theory of the order of the Epistles. But then, it must be borne in mind, that St. Paul rests on this expression, "the just shall live by faith," the whole course and continuity of his teaching; he makes it the text and burden of his Gospel. Hence, by this most stringent of all tests, derived from St. Paul's peculiarities, the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which this text is most emphatically used, is the opening of St. Paul's doctrinal scheme.

In applying this test, let us consider, first, how constant was St. Paul's practice of preaching to the Jews first ⁸, and then what was the peculiarity about his revelation of the Gospel, that it should be marked by this emphasis ⁹.

VI. We may not see in St. Paul an Apostle to the Gentiles alone. We must not overlook the fact, that *before*, and *while* he was the Gentile Apostle, he preached every where *first* to the Jews.

On his conversion, "straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues," and "confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus ¹⁰."

"Separated for the work whereunto God had called them ¹," Paul and Barnabas "preached the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews ²." This was at Salamis. At Antioch in Pisidia, they "went into the synagogue on the sabbath day ³." "And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these ⁴ words might be preached to them the next sabbath ⁵." It was therefore first to the Jews, and secondly to the Gentiles, St. Paul addressed his word of exhortation.

The Jews' anger was not raised because St. Paul spoke to them, but their envy because he spake to the Gentiles as well as to themselves. Because they saw the multitudes, they rejected the Gospel from themselves ⁶. "Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us ⁷."

That the decree obtained from the Church at Jerusalem made no difference, in this regard, we may judge from the

⁸ Paragraphs VI. to X.

¹ Acts xiii. 2.

⁴ St. Paul's.

⁶ Acts xiii. 45 ; xvii. 5, 6.

⁹ Ib. X. to XII.

² Ib. ver. 5.

⁵ Acts xiii. 42.

⁷ Ib. xiii. 46, 47.

¹⁰ Acts ix. 20, 22.

³ Ib. ver. 14.

fact of Timothy being circumcised by St. Paul, who was taken to aid in delivering the decree, "because of the Jews which were in those quarters⁸." In Europe, at Thessalonica⁹, at Beræa¹⁰, at Athens¹, St. Paul's going into the synagogue, "as his manner was," is recorded. He throws the entire blame of rejection upon the Jews, when he says to them, "Your blood be upon your own heads, I am clean, from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles²." This was at Corinth; but at Ephesus again, Paul "went into the synagogue and spake boldly³." Only when divers were hardened and spake evil of that way before the multitude did he separate the disciples⁴, "So that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks⁵." Reviewing his ministry in the presence of the Elders of Ephesus, he congratulates himself that he is free from the blood of all men, because, as they know, from the first day he came into Asia, he "testified both to the Jews and also to the Greeks⁶." And giving at Jerusalem the report "what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry⁷," he is told by the Apostles, the Jews which believe "are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses⁸."

All these instances prove the custom of the Apostle was to preach first to the Jew before turning to the Gentile: and it was one in which years of imprisonment made no change for the Apostle. In the last record of him in the Acts, we find him, after three days at Rome, calling "the chief of the Jews together;" and when they had appointed him a day, he testified the kingdom of God, nor did they depart till in reproof of their *dulness of hearing*, he added, "Be it known therefore unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and that they will hear it⁹."

⁸ Acts xvi. 3.¹ Ib. ver. 17.⁴ Ib. ver. 9.⁷ Ib. xxi. 19.⁹ Ib. xvii. 2.² Ib. xviii. 6.⁵ Ib. ver. 10.⁸ Ib. ver. 21.¹⁰ Ib. ver. 10.³ Ib. xix. 8.⁶ Ib. xx. 18. 21.⁹ Ib. xxviii. 28.

But if such was his custom in preaching, his probable course in writing is evident; his letters, as his preaching, “testified the kingdom of God;” and the one addressed to Jews must precede those which are addressed to Gentiles. If they were all without any other test of precedence, all, equally, part and expression of one Gospel, St. Paul’s Gospel to the Jew must be prior to his Gospel to the Gentiles. Such was too invariably his custom in preaching for us not to expect an Epistle to the Hebrews would be his first Epistle. The Hebrews must be reproved for dullness of hearing¹⁰, in other places besides Rome¹, before “the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles.”

VII. The argument from the Apostle’s custom of preaching first to the Jews is confirmed by his earnest love for his kindred and nation, causing him, as this does, to say in the Epistle to the Romans, that he could wish he were himself accursed from Christ for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh. Such a love for them could not have existed without a token of it from St. Paul’s pen; he would not leave Israel alone in ignorance of Israel’s blindness²; he would not pass over those gradual stages in the diffusion of Christianity which all others seem to have observed³.

VIII. The argument is further confirmed by the change of St. Paul’s position relative to the Jews. The office of the Apostles became divided in a manner which was not declared at first, before it was seen “that He that wrought effectually in Peter to the Apostleship of the circumcision, was mighty in Paul towards the Gentiles⁴.” The Hebrew Epistle should belong to a period preceding that public division, or, to a period determined less by that division than by St. Paul’s acquaintance with Jewish converts.

IX. In St. Paul’s first preaching there are evidences of reserve. I do not speak of the years in Arabia, nor of the

¹⁰ Heb. v. 11.

¹ Acts xxviii. 25—28.

² Rom. xi. 25.

³ Acts i. 8; xxvi. 20.

⁴ Gal. ii. 8.

avoidance of intercourse at Jerusalem; but of the gradual manner in which he unfolded his Gospel privately to them of reputation, speaking wisdom among them that are perfect, unable to feed carnal men with spiritual meat; and in his Epistles gradually revealing the mystery of the reception of the Gentiles, till in this to the Romans he declares himself "not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ." Hence it is a strong argument of the early date of the Hebrews, that a similar reserve is found in it.

Up to the time of the calling of the Gentiles, some things were mysteries; parables were in use to general hearers. "Take heed how ye hear," and "to you that hear shall more be given," were injunctions suited to the previous period; but now came the moment when there was "nothing hid which should not be made manifest⁵." Any thing like suppression of the great doctrines the Apostle had to reveal, must belong to the period intermediate between the death of Christ, and the calling in of the Gentiles. Now, such a style we find adopted in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Some things are said to be "hard to be uttered⁶," others avoided, "of which we cannot *now* speak particularly⁷." A time is spoken of as yet future, when they should no more teach "every man his neighbour but all know the Lord⁸." The Epistle would seem, therefore, to have been written in that earlier period of St. Paul's Gospel, when something was temporarily reserved in making all to be known. All was not, as yet, proclaimed from the house-tops.

X. We want some principle, like the one which has been exhibited, of the order in which the Gospel was to be preached, to account for two things we may remark in St. Paul as in other Apostles.

The ministry had been restricted to Israel: but in the

⁵ Mark iv. 22.

⁶ Heb. v. 11.

⁷ Ib. ix. 5.

⁸ Ib. viii. 11.

last words of the ascending Lord, "Teach all nations⁹," "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature¹," all restriction was removed.

Why any delay or reserve about the Gentiles?

The Lord promised things to His people, which this period is necessary to complete. The Comforter was to come by the access of the Son to the Father. In the Epistle to the Hebrews we learn of this access of the Humanity. Their prayers were thereby to be heard. In the same Epistle we read of the Eternal Intercession urging them to come boldly to the throne of Grace. The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified. An account of His glorification is in this same Epistle given to the faith of the Jews.

We gather further particulars respecting all these things from the Epistles, but those particulars concern especially the consequences ensuing to the Gentiles. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, the same exalted subjects are considered in relation to the Jews, to whom alone could be unfolded the doctrine of the High Priest set down at the right hand of God. It was plainly consistent thus to preach the completion of their Messiah's work to the Jews first, and then to trace the gifts which the same exaltation brought also to the Gentiles.

XI. None of the four Evangelists carries his account of the life of our Lord further than "the day in which He was taken up;" evidently including briefly, as part only of a whole, the many infallible proofs by which He showed Himself alive after His passion, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of things pertaining to the kingdom of God². But when we come to the Epistles of St. Paul, it is not difficult to observe a modification in his view of the

⁹ Matt. xxviii. 18, 19.

¹ Mark xvi. 15.

² Acts i. 1—3.

Life and Gospel of our Lord. With St. Paul there was another beginning of the Gospel, as there was another birth of Christ. To this Apostle the Resurrection was both that beginning and that birth.

In illustration of this usage we may cite 2 Tim. ii. 8: "Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead according to my Gospel." Rom. i. 1—3: "The Gospel of God, (which He had promised before by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures,) concerning His Son Jesus Christ, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared to be the Son of God with power, by the resurrection from the dead."

Thus, in contradistinction, as we are here warned, to the Gospel simply of "Jesus Christ, of the seed of David according to the flesh;" the Gospel of St. Paul was that of the "Son of God" raised from the dead. It is not meant that the Apostle used the term Gospel invariably in this restricted sense, by which its relation to the person of the Saviour is apparent; nor that when he gives the term this limitation, the life in the flesh is excluded; but thus much is asserted, that from the Apostle's position or other circumstances the mortal life is glanced at, in comparison with the life after the resurrection, and the life in glory. Hence St. Paul says: "Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the Gospel which I preached unto you For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the scriptures: And that He was seen, &c.³" The life of Christ in the flesh seems barely noticed here, by the side of the manifestation of Himself alive after His passion, and the consequences of the resurrection of our Lord, which fill the rest of the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 1, 3, 4, 5.

Such is the characteristic of St. Paul's Gospel (when considered only in reference to the person of Christ), which fulfils the condition of being "from faith" and "to faith," a communicative faith, progressive unto perfection. We must have the same choice of actions of the Lord revealed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, if that Epistle is to fulfil the description of a revelation from faith to faith, a description which might be thought belonging to it in the Romans.

XII. Now there is something coincident to make this a stronger test than might otherwise be imagined, of the true position of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The form of the Hebrews does partake of the form of a Gospel in the sense we have just been using the word, namely, in the sense of a life of our Lord. For we might thus divide the contents of the New Testament; 1. The person and work of Christ. 2. The success of the ministry of our Lord and His Apostles. 3. The terms of salvation preached. Of these three parts, the first, which is the proper province of the Gospels, is as much the topic of the Hebrews. The Acts are devoted to the second: the Epistles treat principally of the third of these points. In the Epistles, the work of Christ is introduced casually: in the Hebrews it appears more nearly entire, and, as it were, professedly. If the record of the earthly ministry, begun in the Gospels, required the Acts of the Apostles to complete it⁴, no less did the continued work of the Lord in heaven require to be told. A history of Christ's work, if compiled from fragments out of the Epistles, would, as we have said, be a history of events subsequent to his death. But while other Epistles keep to this period, none keep (like the Hebrews) to the person and work of Christ. That which distinguishes a Gospel from an Epistle, and the work of Christ from the progress of Christianity, would give the Hebrews the title,

⁴ Acts i. 1, &c.

not so much of St. Paul's Epistle, as of his Gospel to that people.

XIII. If such be the characteristic of St. Paul's Gospel, when considered relatively to the person of Christ, which warrants the description of it in the Romans; and such the pre-eminent position, in regard to this Gospel, opened for the Hebrews among the Epistles of St. Paul; we must, at least, have the *later* actions of the Lord chosen for revelation in that Epistle, and find it begin the history of His exaltation, if it does not fill up the place of a life of the Lord *after* the resurrection.

Now how does the Epistle to the Hebrews answer these expectations?

The following is not an exaggerated statement of the purpose and contents of the Epistle to the Hebrews. "The admitted theme of this Epistle is the doctrine of the eternal and infinitely perfect High Priesthood of Christ; of which doctrine (with the exception of the references to it: Rom. xv. 16. 1 Cor. ix. 13, and Ephes. v. 2; references which imply a farther treatment of the subject elsewhere by the hand of St. Paul) this Epistle is the sole depository. But the consummation of Christ's priestly office was then only accomplished, when having offered Himself once a sacrifice for sins, He sat down for ever at the right hand of God..." "Accordingly as, Christ's eternal priesthood is the theme, so His eternal session at the right hand of God will be found, on comparison of Heb. i. 3; viii. 1; x. 12; and xii. 2, to constitute the key-text of the Epistle to the Hebrews."

"In the development of the theme of this Epistle, (the eternal high priesthood of Christ,) the great object of the writer most manifestly is, to demonstrate the efficacy of the doctrine to produce, and its tendency to lead on to perfection: διὸ ἀφέντες τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον, ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα is the practical bearing, and might stand as the motto of the whole letter. We find it Heb. ii.

10; xii. 2; v. 9. 14; vii. 11. 19. 28; ix. 9. 11; x. 1. 14; xi. 40, &c.⁵”

XIV. There is surely enough in this abstract of the contents of the Epistle to the Hebrews to fulfil any expectations of what the Gospel of St. Paul must have been. There is a good deal to identify the Hebrews with that title, even in the restricted sense of a life of our Lord. There is much to this effect beyond the mere fact, which, though it may seem trivial, should not pass unnoticed, that this Epistle is like the Gospels anonymous, or like the Gospel of St. John, to which it bears most general resemblance, only indicates its author in the latter part. Its beginning is the beginning of a Gospel; it begins from Christ, and the Lord's ministry is quoted for greater authority with its readers. But such are only some of the peculiarities of the Hebrews. Like the Gospels, it rises above the circumstances of the time, and from a higher region and a calmer sky looks down upon that storm of which the Epistles are, humanly speaking, the result. But its twilight is of the morning, not of the evening. This priority must belong to such a writing, that it should precede, or that it should be the rising of St. Paul's Gospel upon the world.

XV. Independently of other chapters, the reasons in this section have all tended to place this Epistle prior to the division of the Apostleships into Jewish and Gentile missions. The order of St. Paul's preaching, to the *Jew first*, every where; the early date this would lead us to fix for his Jewish Epistle, thrust earlier still by the circumstances of his Gentile Apostleship; the early sentiments of the Apostle towards his own nation, and his early reserve about the Gentiles; all combine as causes for the production and Jewish treatment of the particular topics we find in

⁵ Forster, on the Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

the Epistle to the Hebrews. The distinction between St. Paul's Gospel and that of others, found to be anterior to the distinction between their Gospels, as to the uncircumcision and to the circumcision; and the perfect accord or subservience of the Epistle to the Hebrews to this distinction, whether as to its Gospel-form or its after-resurrection topics; this coincidence, again, has been pointed out as a corroboration of the early position of this remarkable Epistle. The summary quoted from the Epistle to the Romans of what his Gospel might be expected to be, has thus been found complete in the Hebrews, as "from faith to faith;" the just living by faith; the righteousness of God in Christ, begun to the Jews, to be developed or communicated to the Gentiles.

Is there one period in St. Paul's early ministry more likely than another to have produced this Epistle? Of a period anterior to the publication of his Gospel to the Gentiles, a period, whose influence on St. Paul's 2 Corinthian and Galatian topics we have already remarked, it is written: "I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I knew a man in Christ about fourteen years ago, such an one caught up to the third heaven That he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter⁶." What vision so likely to produce that vivid picture in the Hebrews, of "the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched⁷?" What more like "unspeakable words" than the whole doctrine of the Hebrews? Yet of the "many things to say and hard to be uttered⁸," "this is the sum: We have such an high priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens⁹." This is the "revelation of the Lord," "made higher than the heavens¹," which indeed entereth within the second veil. This is indeed, to speak particularly of the "Holiest of all," excepting what could not

⁶ 2 Cor. xii. 1—4.⁷ Heb. viii. 2.⁸ Ib. v. 11.⁹ Ib. viii. 1.¹ Ib. vii. 26.

now be spoken, "The cherubim of glory overshadowing the *mercy-seat*,—the *propitiation* of the Gentiles still undisclosed²."

Both the vision and the writing should have occurred in the interval between the first and second visits of St. Paul to Corinth; and one cannot help offering for remark the fact, that St. Paul was charged with profaning of temples before that time in his history, when alone we can see a more definite, though mistaken, ground for such a charge against him³. Is it altogether impossible, that the undefined origin of the charge was in a malicious perversion of the freedom of access to the holiest, which he had preached in the Epistle to the Hebrews?

² Compare ἱλαστήριον in Heb. ix. 5, and Rom. iii. 25.

³ Acts xix. 27. 37; xxi. 26, 27; xxv. 8.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION IV.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS
AND THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

I. THE topic which connects the Epistle to the Romans and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, is the reconciliation of sinners, through God not imputing their trespasses unto them. The coincidence between these Epistles is greatest at their fifth chapters, in which, words denoting “reconciliation,” both the verb *καταλλάσσειν* and the noun *καταλλαγή*, centre.

Compare the passages,—

2 Cor. v. 17—20 : “Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature And all things are of God, who hath reconciled (*καταλλάξαντος*) us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation (*καταλλαγῆς*); to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling (*καταλλάσσων*) the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation (*καταλλαγῆς*). Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ’s stead, be ye reconciled (*καταλλάγητε*) to God.”

Rom. v. 10, 11; “For if, when we were enemies, we

were reconciled (καταλλάγημεν) to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled (καταλλαγέντες), we shall be saved by His life. And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement (καταλλαγήν)."

II. The above parallel may suffice to show the principal point of connexion between the Roman and Second Corinthian Epistle. But we may now turn to the connexion of the Epistle to the Hebrews with them.

Observe then, that sin *in Christians* is contemplated in the double reconciliation named to the Romans: "God commendeth His love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more then, *being now* justified by His blood, we *shall be* saved from wrath through Him¹." The supposition is as much here of sin in Christians as it is to the Hebrews, of sin after knowledge of the truth; and in the Epistles to Corinth, of sin, whose reality was exemplified by actual events in that city. Now, the value of establishing the order of the Epistles will here be felt, if it help to remove contradictory impressions derived from their language, read without due connexion.

There stands the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which forgiveness of sin after Baptism is viewed as at least in jeopardy; in the absence of faith it is *impossible*²; for wilful sin after knowledge remaineth no more sacrifice³; the sale of the birthright leaves no blessing on repentance⁴. In these passages to the Hebrews, we really have to seek for extenuation of the impression, that their condemnation of sin is sweeping and inflexible. Such language as, treading under foot the Son of God, and crucifying the Son of God afresh, rivets our attention in such places, and distracts our mind from one idea which the passages contain, which is, the *need of faith*. To this idea we have to give its due

¹ Rom. v. 8.

² Heb. vi. 4. 6.

³ Ib. x. 26.

⁴ Ib. xii. 16, 17.

prominence, and to look for explanation to the general drift of the Epistle, namely, that forgiveness of sin is impossible, if our repentance be unblest by the presence of faith. Now it cannot be denied that we put this sweeping condemnation of a Christian sinning, to the test at once by our order of the Epistles, looking at the Apostle's own development of his doctrine in his action at Corinth, in his treatment of a case in which he himself bound and loosed a sinning Christian. In so doing, the apparent contradiction is removed, by establishing the turning point to be faith. Justification by faith becomes the Apostle's subject ever after; exhibited in action to the Corinthians, it is generalized as a principle to the Romans. Herein lies the solution of any apparently greater severity in one Epistle than in another. Before the reconciliation of the sinner, the punishment of sin must be admitted to a priority in point of fact and in St. Paul's argument.

III. This twofold mercy, declared in the Epistle to the Romans: "While we were yet sinners," and, "much more then being now justified, we shall be saved from wrath," may be observed upon another account. There is a twofold divine estimate of us, as "sinners," and "justified," and a twofold human estimate of God implied in our being "enemies," and "reconciled." Compare with the twofold non-imputation of sin in the Roman phrase, the double stage of Christian knowledge in other Epistles: "Now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known⁵." And observe, that there is the same two-staged reciprocity of knowledge as of regard: "Now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God⁶." Beyond their both running these similar courses, we have seen no connexion between such knowledge, and such non-imputation. That,

⁵ 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

⁶ Gal. iv. 9; on which see also 1 Cor. xiii. 12; 2 Cor. iii. 18.

however, is found in the general description of the Christian Covenant to the Hebrews: "For this is the Covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to Me a people: and they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know Me, from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more⁷."

IV. I will shortly conclude the parallels between the Roman and Corinthian Epistles, with a suggestion due to the difficulties found by commentators in explaining the Roman arguments in all their generality. May not the language in which these universal truths are stated, where it is thought to be fancifully or unaccountably chosen, be taken from the series of events connected in the previous Epistles? There would certainly be ground for stating that terms in the Epistle to the Romans admit of derivation from the binding and loosing of the Corinthian offender, and from the judaical persecution by means of the law thus simulated. There had been a judgment (*κρίμα*)⁸, which Judaizers carried unto condemnation (*πρὸς κατάκρισιν*)¹, as there had been forgiveness (*χάρισμα*)², supported unto justification (*δικαίωμα*). It was an example of the general principle, "the judgment (*κρίμα*) is of one to condemnation (*εἰς κατάκριμα*), but the free gift (*χάρισμα*) is of many offences unto justification (*εἰς δικαίωμα*)³." "Law entered (*παρεῖσῃλθεν*)⁴" "by the way," and as "parenthetically" as they had who "came in" (*παρεῖσῃλθον*) to spy out the Apostle's Christian liberty⁵. Even the carnal man⁶ has

⁷ Heb. viii. 10—12; compare also 2 Cor. vi. 13—18.

⁸ 1 Cor. v. 3.

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 9; vii. 3.

² Ib. ii. 7, 10.

³ Rom. v. 16.

⁴ Ib. ver. 20.

⁵ Gal. ii. 4.

⁶ Rom. ch. vii.

coincidences with the same events, besides being drawn, by St. Paul, in the first person, like his: "I could wish that myself were accursed (*ἀνάθεμα*) from Christ, for my brethren⁷." In the period of one man's life, a sin without knowledge had become a sin with knowledge⁸; the sin which one had not known was lust, became so known to him; lust warring in their members, turned the Apostolic decree given to life, into death. St. Paul might in saying, "I was alive without the law once," transfer to himself things both of the sinner and of the Jew, as elsewhere he has alluded to attaining the sense and age of personal responsibility. "Sold under sin¹" they were, whether they became bond servants of men²; or of lust³; after they had been "bought with a price." As in the Corinthian Church, facts had turned on a woman being bound to her husband, such is the source of the Roman analogy⁴. If such coincidences are insufficient reasons why general and eternal truths should be stated in one set of words more than another, the events must not be overlooked as interpreting the Apostle's grandest and most spiritual conceptions of the treatment of sin.

V. The Epistle to the Romans touches that to the Galatians at the subject of justification by faith. It is a subject implied in every part of the Epistle, rendering it difficult to limit one Epistle's development of the other to explicit parallels.

We cannot at once say that either Roman or Galatian treatment of this topic logically precedes the other. But we can say that the exposition of doctrine which St. Paul laid down to St. Peter, before all, at Antioch⁵, is prior to both the Epistles to Rome and Galatia.

⁷ Rom. ix. 3.⁸ Ib. vii. 9.¹ Ib. ver. 14.² 1 Cor. vii. 23.³ Ib. vi. 19.⁴ Rom. vii. 2.⁵ Gal. ii. 14—21.

This exposition is prefaced by an exhortation against forcing to agreement the diverse manners of life of Jews and Gentiles⁶: particulars of the controversy arising out of which have been developed elsewhere, in other chapters upon the relation of the Epistles.

More peculiarly Galatian parts of the exposition follow; *firstly*, "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed⁷," &c.; *secondly*, "But if, while we seek to be justified by Christ, we ourselves also are found sinners, is therefore Christ the minister of sin? God forbid. For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor⁸;" and *thirdly*, "For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto Christ¹," &c.

Now these are also the heads of doctrine in which the Epistle to the Romans has those coincidences with the Epistle to the Galatians, from which its succession may be asserted.

It was probable enough that this abstract of doctrine at Antioch would be observed throughout the Epistle which records it; but it is remarkable to find it further pursued in the Epistle to the Romans. But as the first two parts of the abstract belong most to the Galatian argument, so does the third to the Romans. As to the first part of the abstract, justification by faith, and not by the law, is the subject pursued in the next chapter to the Galatians; while the fourth and fifth chapters are filled with the return to the beggarly elements of a spirit of bondage and of abuse of liberty, for an occasion to the flesh, which we suppose to have been meant by the second part of the abstract, by a man's building again those things which once he destroyed. The third part of the abstract, in the form of the expression, "*dead to the law*," &c., is prominent in the Epistle to the

⁶ Ver. 14, 15.⁷ Ver. 16.⁸ Ver. 17, 18.¹ Ver. 19—21.

Romans; the argument there returning to the idea of *death* in several places: these among the rest, i. 32; iv. 24; vi. 4; vi. 11; vii. 8; vii. 24. Not so, in the Epistle to the Galatians, where we find *bondage* and *freedom* used in the place of *life* and *death*, to the Romans. So far, there is in these passages an order of composition agreeing with the abstract and confirming our order of the Epistles. We must come however to closer coincidences before we can assert any thing positive of these two arguments.

VI. Several Roman and Galatian passages appear at first sight to be duplicates of each other. But if we examine them more closely they are contrasts rather than repetitions.

This is the case with Gal. iv. 6: "And because ye are sons, God had sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father," which is plainly parallel to Rom. viii. 14, 15: "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God for . . . ye have received the spirit of adoption (*υιοθεσίας*), whereby we cry Abba, Father." The arguments run in the same line, but in different directions. In the Galatian, sonship bears with it the gift of the Spirit, in the Roman Epistle, sonship depends on the leading of the Spirit.

VII. Distinct purposes produce an opposition of direction in arguments where we might suppose the language identical.

Gal. iii. 27: "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ." Rom. vi. 3: "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death?" There seems here the same truth deduced from baptism. But look further at the direction of the Galatian argument; they that have put on Christ are thereby free from the law². Look at the Roman argument; baptism into Christ's death is deadness to sin³.

² Gal. iii. 25, 26.

³ Rom. vi. 4—7.

Here there is plainly an opposition of deadness, resulting from the two purposes with which the Romans and Galatians are addressed. The direction of the arguments from baptism confirms the general supplemental relation of these two Epistles.

VIII. It is only perhaps at places where the two currents of argument pass the same objects that we can ascertain they are running in opposite directions. But doubtless, if we could follow them further, we should find the same contrariety or supplementality throughout their courses.

The war of the flesh and spirit is set down in one verse to the Galatians ⁴, which concludes, "So that ye cannot do the things that ye would." The same internal war is unfolded in the Epistle to the Romans throughout the seventh chapter, where it is easy to identify the subject, by comparing the last quoted text with the 19th verse: "The good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do."

The Roman and Galatian topics are the same. To what purpose then are they respectively introduced? To the Galatians, the one verse on the subject of this war is placed parenthetically between the saying: "Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh," and another: "but if ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law." To the Romans, the deadness to the law freeing us to serve in the Spirit, is put first ⁵, while at the end ⁶, deliverance from the body of this death is secured to those who walk after the Spirit. Thus is the order of the arguments exactly inverted.

IX. There is a supplemental relation indicated between the arguments above compared; and to be assured of this, is sufficient for our purpose: neither Epistle can therefore be said to supersede the other. But if it be asked how this

⁴ Chap. v. 17.

⁵ Chap. vii. 1.

⁶ Chap. vii. 24; viii. 1.

reciprocal dependence is manifested, reference may again be made to the abstract of St. Paul's doctrine which he enunciated at Antioch. The form in which this is given at Antioch, is first, by analysis from the adversaries' view of justification by the law, down to a man's making himself a transgressor; then by synthesis, from one being dead to the law up to Christ living in him to God⁷. Such are also the general features of distinction between the two Epistles.

In addition to this general supplementality, for which the first eight chapters to the Romans must be compared with the Galatian Epistle, a little coincidence seems to proclaim the Roman Epistle's sequence. The Galatian Epistle ends with, "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing (*τὸ ἰσχύει*), nor uncircumcision⁸;" the Roman Epistle resumes the proof in the first two chapters, and in the first verse of the third chapter, asks what profit (*τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια*) is there of circumcision?

X. In the following instances we see the double purposes of the two Epistles.

Abraham's example is introduced to this purport in the Galatian Epistle, Gal. iii. 6, 7: "Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham." The same example and the same text are introduced to the Romans with another purpose, Rom. iv. 1—3: "What shall we say then that Abraham, our father as pertaining to the flesh, hath found? for if Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory; but not before God. For what saith the Scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness." To the Galatians Abraham exemplifies righteousness and sonship given to faith; to the

⁷ Gal. ii. 17—20.

⁸ Chap. vi. 15.

Romans his example meets the question of glory in after-works and boast of acquired privileges. The purposes are complements of each other. But another text respecting Abraham follows in Gal. iii. 8: "And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the Gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be *blessed*." This *blessedness* is referred to, in Rom. iv. 9, where the justification of the heathen is deduced on the same principle as before: "Cometh this *blessedness* upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also, for we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness?" There is a proof of the general proposition in the one case, the disproof of a particular contradiction in the other. A third text is quoted respecting Abraham to the Galatians: "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, and to seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ¹." The same text is quoted to the Romans: "Neither, because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children: but, in Isaac shall thy seed be called. That is, they which are the children of the flesh, they are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed²." From one and the same text, the affirmative deduction is in the Galatian, "Which is Christ;" the particular negation, "they of the flesh are not," follows to the Romans.

Thus, in three cases where, if they were not intended to form a common system, these two Epistles must overlap each other, we see that they derive mutual explanation of their arguments from the same Old Testament examples.

XI. But the example of Abraham may be taken as one proof that the Epistle to the Hebrews anticipates the Epistles to Galatia and Rome.

The Romans learn how *Abraham's faith* in God "who

¹ Gal. iii. 16.

² Rom. ix. 7, 8.

quickeneth the dead," was evinced by his not considering "his own body now dead," nor yet the deadness of Sara's womb³, coincidently with the information to the Hebrews of *Sara* receiving strength, "when she was past age," to conceive seed of "him as good as dead⁴." *Abraham* was "fully assured" in one Epistle⁵; the other urges every one to this "full assurance⁶." In the alternation of the points alluded to, such exemplifications must have been connected; but the Hebrew exhortation does not require to be illustrated from aside, as does Abraham's example to the Romans. The multitude of the seed is not omitted from either Epistle; but in one, the comparison of the stars and the sand is expressed, in the other it is only implied in the quotation: "So shall thy seed be⁷." Our belief "on Him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead⁸," has more correspondence to Abraham's faith than appears in the surface of the Epistle to the Romans: that correspondence is expressed to the Hebrews, where it is said: "Abraham accounted that God was able to raise up Isaac, even from the dead; from whence also he received him in a figure⁹."

³ Rom. iv. 19.⁴ Heb. xi. 11, 12.⁵ Rom. iv. 21.⁶ Heb. vi. 11.⁷ Heb. xi. 12 with Rom. iv. 18.⁸ Rom. iv. 24.⁹ Heb. xi. 19.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION V.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE EPISTLES TO THE ROMANS AND EPHESIANS.

I. THE Epistle to the Ephesians opens with the subjects, Predestination and Election: with these subjects the argument in that to the Romans ends.

On examining the Romans, the 8th chapter, at the 29th and 30th verses, strikes upon the mind as a novelty unparalleled by the language of the previous Epistles: "For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren. Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called: and whom He called, them He also justified: and whom He justified, them He also glorified." This *predestination* is the most abstract point which the argument can attain, and closes it in the Romans by filling the 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters. It may fairly be thought resumed in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, at the 4th, 5th, and 11th verses: "According as He hath chosen us in Him, before the foundation of the world having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of Him Who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will."

II. The frequent use of the word *riches* in the Romans, Ephesians, and Colossians obtains for it, from Paley, the title of a "*cant*" word. But arrange the Apostle's language in Rom. ii. 4; ix. 23; xi. 33. Col. i. 27; ii. 2; 3. 16. Ephes. i. 18; ii. 4. 7; iii. 8. 16, not as if he "disregarded the rules of good writing," but as if he desired to retain the ear by iteration of the same sound; and the course and climax of this usage will express St. Paul's admiration of God's mercy to the world, Gentile as well as Jew, in their salvation by Christ. The same is true of the word "glory," which is used nearly as often as the word "riches," and in dependence on the same set of subjects in both Epistles, namely, on "tribulations," "peace," &c. This climax of the epistolary argument produces also a parallel in regard to the word "love." "Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord¹." That ye "may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, that passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God²."

III. Instead of a peculiarity in St. Paul's style of "going off at a word" as Paley describes it, one of Paley's examples, Ephes. iv. 8—11, may be more properly called a resumption of Rom. x. 6, 7.

"Wherefore He saith, When He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. (Now that He ascended, what is it but that He also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things.) And He gave some, Apostles, &c." Something more than the mere mention of "the measure of the gift of Christ," drew the writer into this

¹ Rom. viii. 39.

² Ephes. iii. 18, 19.

parenthesis to the Ephesians; for there is a remonstrance of a like kind to the Romans: "Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above.) Or who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring Christ up again from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith which we preach." The ubiquity of the Spirit's presence is the sequel to its individual proximity, and the same text proves them both.

IV. But this is what alone distinguishes those very like passages on the unity of the Christian body in 1 Cor. xii. 4—7. 10, 11. 28, in Rom. xii. 3—8, and in Ephes. iv. 4—7. 11, 12. 16. Of these, the Corinthian passage enunciates the existence of unity amidst the diversity of gifts; the Roman teaches Christians to cultivate their individual gifts; the Ephesian aims at the development of the entire Christian body. Thus, in their treatment of the same subject, existence is discussed in the first, growth in the last two Epistles.

V. The passage to the Ephesians on the spiritual marriage between Christ and His Church, is the issue of arguments in the Epistles to Rome and Corinth. For we can point to the many places in which the First Epistle to the Corinthians recurs to the *body* as its topic³; the many places in which the Roman and Galatian Epistles refer to the word *flesh*⁴. It is more, therefore, than an unsustained analogy, when the Ephesians points to the "Saviour of the body⁵," and asserts the mystery, "they two shall be one flesh⁶." All that remained for this Epistle, was to name the last particular respecting Christ's Church, and to conclude with the epistolary climax: "For we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of *His bones*⁷."

³ 1 Cor. vi. 15; x. 17; xii.; xv. 35—44.

⁴ Rom. ii. 28; iv. 1; vii. 18; viii. 9; ix. 5, &c.

⁵ Chap. v. 23.

⁶ Ib. ver. 31.

⁷ Ephes. v. 30.

VI. The series of Epistles hitherto examined, may be placed between the Epistles to the Ephesians and Hebrews, if attention be paid to differences of tone and language upon the same points.

For let the hint given to the Hebrews, respecting the presence of sinners among the Christians themselves, be contrasted with the silence recommended to the Ephesians, respecting the very names of such debasing sins⁸; and the whole series, on the detection of the sinners, and on the refutation of the blame they cast on others, may be arranged between these two passages⁹.

Again, there is an approach to a contradiction between the advice given to the Hebrews: "ye ought to be teachers¹⁰," and the withdrawal of the Ephesians from their teachers: "That we henceforth be no more children (*νήπιοι*), tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men¹¹." There is room for the series of Epistles to display the teachers forewarned¹², censured¹, levelled², before they are finally held up to their own pupils as deceivers; that is, there is need of the explanatory series on the Jewish pretension of teaching the Gentiles.

It would be difficult to lay aside the *panoply*³ of the Ephesian Epistle, after its accumulation as "breastplate and helmet" in the 1 Thessalonian⁴, "on the right hand and on the left" in the 2 Corinthian⁵, the "armour (*ὅπλα*) of light" in the Roman⁶ Epistle. It is a natural recapitulation, to call over "the whole armour of God⁷" in the latter Epistle, which would be lost, unless we connected the Ephesian "helmet of salvation" with the Thessalonian

⁸ Ephes. v. 3.

⁹ Compare also, 2 Cor. vi. 11—18 with Ephes. v. 5—7.

¹⁰ Heb. v. 12.

¹¹ Eph. iv. 14.

¹² Heb.

¹ Cor.

² Gal.

³ *τὴν πανοπλίαν*, Eph. vi. 14.

⁴ 1 Thess. v. 8.

⁵ 2 Cor. vi. 7.

⁶ Chap. xiii. 12.

⁷ Eph. vi. 11—17.

“hope, the helmet of salvation,” and would be nullified if we placed the Hebrews’ “word of God—sharper than any two-edged sword⁸,” after the Ephesian “the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.”

VII. Contrast unites the Epistles to the Ephesians and Hebrews more than likeness; for where a likeness appears, it evidently intends the final placing of the Gentiles on a level with the Jews. They “who sometimes were far off are made nigh⁹,” they “have boldness and access with confidence¹,” as well as those needing only to “hold fast the confidence²,” and “to come boldly unto the throne of grace³.” To the Hebrews, St. Paul defers the event of the predicted subjection of all things to Christ, saying, “but now we see not yet all things put under Him⁴,” whereas to the Ephesians he anticipates the same event: “And hath put all things under His feet⁵.” In the former Epistle, “Moses was faithful in all his house as a servant⁶.” But in the latter, others “are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone,” “for through Him, we both have an access by one Spirit unto the Father⁷.” And this was the mystery which was hid, as in other ages and places, so, it may be, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and from the age to which that Epistle belongs.

⁸ Chap. iv. 12.

² Heb. iii. 6.

⁵ Eph. i. 22.

⁹ Eph. ii. 13.

³ Ib. iv. 16.

⁶ Heb. iii. 5.

¹ Ib. iii. 12.

⁴ Ib. ii. 8.

⁷ Eph. ii. 18. 20.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE RELATION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS TO THAT TO THE EPHESIANS.

I. THE Epistle to the Ephesians and the Epistle to the Colossians import to be two letters written at, or nearly at the same time, and upon the same purpose, and to have been sent by the same messenger¹. They treat of the same general subject, establishing, by similar arguments, the doctrine of the union of Jews and Gentiles under the Christian dispensation. There is a close resemblance in the style and diction of the two Epistles; many of the expressions of one recur in the other; sometimes whole sentences are alike. Now, while these circumstances combine to prove the common date of these two Epistles, do they allow us to suppose that the same congregation was expected to read them both? If we can show that each was destined so to be read after the other by the same persons, we have a much stronger reason for supposing that the other Epistles, which differ considerably, were intended, by their due succession, to profit the whole Church.

Now, that neither of these Epistles supersedes the other, will be shown from their contents. But there is a text from the Epistle to the Colossians which makes it probable at

¹ Eph. vi. 21, 22. Col. iv. 7—9, compared by Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, chap. vi.

once: "When this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea²." The Epistles which were to be thus interchanged, were, in all probability, the two under present consideration. But if each, of two Epistles so alike, was ordered to be read in succession after the other; then generally, the Epistles which are most alike in subject, were intended to be read consecutively. These two Epistles were so composed, that the priority of reading one or other should be a matter of indifference; but each was intended to supply something of illustration or clearness to that other. Hence also, generally, where the order of reading an Epistle was not indifferent, but from later date of composition later perusal was expected, yet Epistles were not written to supersede those which had been published before, but to pursue a common plan and to supply fulness to those they succeeded.

II. A general idea of the classes of readers contemplated in these two Epistles will serve to show, that neither could have the effect of superseding the other.

First, eliminating statements of doctrine from the Epistle to the Ephesians, the following exhortations will give us an estimate of the characteristics of its readers: "Remember, that ye being in time past Gentiles in the flesh (who are called Uncircumcision by that which is called the Circumcision in the flesh made by hands); that at that time ye were without Christ But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ³." Such persons were originally Gentiles, and the parenthesis suggests that they remained in a state to be reproached for this origin by those who conformed to Judaism. This suggestion is confirmed: "This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not

² Col. iv. 16.

³ Eph. ii. 11—13.

as other Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind to work all uncleanness with greediness. But ye have not so learned Christ; if so be that ye have heard Him, and have been taught by Him, as the truth is in Jesus ⁴." Outward appearances gave fewer tokens of their having heard Christ, than of temptations to return to heathenism. "Be not ye therefore partakers with them ⁵," could best be said to the Gentile sinner that repented of moral guilt, without disavowing his former associates in disobedience. Such appear to be the feelings worked upon here.

The interchange of the pronouns "we" and "ye" is significant. "We first trusted in Christ. In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard, &c. ⁶," so that they were of the later converts: "In time past ye walked according to the course of this world among whom also we all had our conversation in times past and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others ⁷." The Apostle's sympathy was shown, in placing such as himself among them as children of wrath by nature. "I beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called That we henceforth be no more children carried about by the sleight of men," that "lie in wait to deceive ⁸." Thus, a change of the person from "ye" to "we" is made in this Epistle, whenever the Apostle would speak of those who could pride themselves on present or former obedience to the law.

III. But now, if we treat their Epistle in the same way, the Colossians present a different shade of character; "You, that were sometime alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath He reconciled in the body of His flesh through death, to present you holy and unblameable and unreprieveable in His sight: if ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from

⁴ Eph. iv. 17—21.

⁵ Ib. v. 7.

⁶ Ib. i. 12.

⁷ Ib. ii. 2, 3.

⁸ Ib. iv. 1, 14, 15.

the hope of the Gospel, which ye have heard, and which was preached to every creature which is under heaven⁹." These parties had, it is evident, heard of the Gospel; and if their previous works had been in the ways of heathen wickedness, their present danger was, nevertheless, from a more praise-seeking apostacy. There is no change of the pronoun from "ye" to "we" here: "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ¹." "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday²." "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels³." If the pronoun is ever changed here, this is to reserve the contagion of Gentile preaching to the Apostle himself⁴, or to obtain their thanks for his deliverance from the common darkness⁵. Instead of temptations to a former way of life⁶, the world these now lived in subjected the Colossians to ordinances, "touch not, taste not," &c., judged them in ceremonies, stimulated them to external honours, "to the satisfying of the flesh⁷."

IV. Such being the different tendencies of the two classes of Gentile Christians with whom the Apostle had to deal, the general arguments which he delivers to them are equally distinct.

To the Ephesians, that is, to those converts who were more lax, and who perhaps were more debased in former vices, a doctrine was suited, which should encourage in them a feeling of present responsibility and self-respect. Such was the doctrine, "That the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of His promise in Christ by the Gospel⁸:" the gathering together in one

⁹ Col. i. 21—23.

³ Ib. ver. 18.

⁶ Ib. iii. 7.

¹ Ib. ii. 8.

⁴ Ib. i. 28; iv. 3.

⁷ Ib. ii. 21. 23.

² Ib. ver. 16.

⁵ Ib. i. 12.

⁸ Eph iii. 6.

head⁹; the raising us up together, and making us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus¹⁰; the light of their present position contrasted with their previous darkness¹¹; the depth of those lower parts of the earth from which Christ ascended, far above all heavens, that He might fill all things, and give gifts unto men¹²; the doctrine that through Him the Head, both those "afar off," as well as those "that were nigh, have access by one Spirit unto the Father¹³."

To the Colossians, whom we have seen to be more ceremonially scrupulous, the lesson to be taught was, that they were "complete in Christ¹⁴." Not to them only, but as it is come "in all the world¹⁵;" as it is "preached to every creature under heaven¹⁶," the Gospel was "to reconcile *all* things unto" the Father, through Christ, in whom "all fulness dwelt¹;" "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge²;" by whom "were all things created³;" by whom "all things consist⁴;" of whom is "the body⁵;" from whom "all the body" increaseth⁶; Who is "all and in all⁷;" the doctrine, in fine, that "in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily⁸."

The general arguments to the Ephesians and Colossians are, therefore, as distinct as the head is from the body among the members, and adapted to point out the source of *elevation* and *nourishment*, according as the needs of one Christian or another might require. The two classes of Christians here contemplated, correspond to the two contrasted in the first and second chapters to the Romans, just as the sin-condemning and sin-countenancing tendencies

⁹ Eph. i. 10.

¹² Ib. iv. 8—10.

¹⁵ Ib. i. 6.

² Ib. ii. 3.

⁵ Ib. ii. 17.

⁸ Ib. ii. 9.

¹⁰ Ib. ii. 6.

¹³ Ib. ii. 17, 18.

¹⁶ Ib. ver. 23.

³ Ib. i. 16.

⁶ Ib. ver. 19.

¹¹ Ib. v. 8—14.

¹⁴ Col. ii. 10.

¹ Ib. vers. 19, 20.

⁴ Ib. ver. 17.

⁷ Ib. iii. 11.

there exposed, have been found in the Judaizer and Greek of other Epistles. The common system, therefore, of the Epistles which has appeared throughout the twofold course of their argument against circumcision and uncircumcision, now no less certainly appears in this their double climax⁹.

V. But if the two Epistles be further examined, the reason of their running so strict a parallel will be still better seen in their mutual illustration and support. To do this the more fairly, *we shall follow Paley's course of examples*, even if we cannot exactly receive his conclusions; for duplicate expressions do not disprove a common system. If the Ephesian arguments be taken for granted in the Colossian Epistle¹⁰ and *vice versâ*, fragments of Ephesian sentences savour of the general scope of the Colossian arguments¹, it is clear that passages would be abrupt and unfinished without some such stretching over into the other line of subjects. Again, there are common topics undoubtedly, but then, these topics are common, because each of the two contending parties wanted these very things to be set forth from his own side. "Wherefore putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour²;" "Lie not one to another, seeing, &c.³;" a correction of that vice does seem to bear a nearer relation to the "putting on the new man," than a reformation in any other article of morals⁴. Such are the common references to the heard-of "word of truth," whether they must recognize its general application⁵, or inquire into their own personal reception of it⁶. Hence duplicate references to its being hid hitherto⁷, and to St. Paul being made a minister thereof⁸. We can therefore see in the sentences quoted by Paley as repeated in the

⁹ Comp. chap. iv. par. xxii.

¹ Eph. i. 23; iii. 19; iv. 10.

³ Col. iii. 9.

⁵ Col. i. 5, 6. 23.

⁷ Col. i. 26, 27; ii. 2. Eph. iii. 9.

¹⁰ Col. i. 18; ii. 10; iii. 19.

² Ib. iv. 25.

⁴ Paley, chap. vi. no. 3.

⁶ Eph. i. 13; iv. 21.

⁸ Col. i. 23. 25. Eph. iii. 5, &c.

second letter, no sameness that was unnecessary. Even the parallel connecting things in earth with things in heaven is not “a very singular sentiment” to mark a double climax. St. Paul was not indifferent to the kind of persons he addressed when, while admitting both to the same psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, he yet added “with grace⁹” to those who thought they could do without it, and allowed one more sign of merry-making melody¹⁰ to the sinner that repented. Though he sent to inform both Churches of his own affairs, his messenger was commissioned to inform himself of the affairs of but one, and this, the one tempted to judaize¹.

VI. As the doubt which these Epistles throw upon our theory of a common system belonging to St. Paul's Epistles can only proceed from their seeming identity, take the parallel between two passages, whose affinity is said by Paley to be “in signification, in terms, and in the order of the words, closer than can be pointed out between any parts of any two Epistles in the volume.”

Eph. v. 22, &c.

“Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord.

“For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church, &c.

“Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, &c.

“Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right.

“Honour thy father, &c.

Col. iii. 18, &c.

“Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord.”

“Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them.

“Children, obey your parents in all things: for this is well pleasing unto the Lord.

⁹ Col. iii. 16.

¹ Col. iv. 8.

¹⁰ Comp. James v. 13 with Eph. v. 19.

“ *And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.* ” “ *Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged.* ”

“ *Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eyeservice, as menpleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men: knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.* ” “ *Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eyeservice as menpleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God: and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done: and there is no respect of persons.* ”

“ *And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with Him.* ” “ *Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.* ”

Now this comparison suggests reasons why it was not superfluous to repeat these exhortations.

First, in describing the relations of masters and servants, the one Epistle contains the recompence of wrong, while the other denotes the exactitude of the reward of good things done; in one Epistle, servants are encouraged to remember there is no respect of persons with God, while

masters are warned to remember the same truth in the other. So that the supplemental application of motives would suggest, that either Epistle might profitably succeed the other, although it repeated the same list of moral duties.

But, *Secondly*, there is no unnecessary repetition, because these practical exhortations minister to the doctrinal purpose of their respective Epistles. The leading idea of the Epistle to the Ephesians, the bringing all things to one head² in Christ, would suggest to the Apostle to enlarge upon that headship under the conjugal relation, and to exemplify thereby the unity between Christ and His Church. The general scope of the Epistle to the Colossians being the believer's completeness in Christ; to them alone, the obedience of children to parents and of servants to masters is pronounced an "obedience—in *all* things."

Then, *Thirdly*, the Colossians being more likely to be led away by Jewish rigour, the Ephesians by mutual indulgence, these different shades of character would account for any differences in the language held towards the one and the other readers, though these differences would allow us to suppose the exacting husbands and fathers centred in Colossæ, the irresponsible parents and children at Ephesus³.

VII. The next longest parallel which would affect our argument of a common system belonging to St. Paul's Epistles, if indeed we considered it as Paley does, written "without any express recollection of what the Apostle had written before," is the parallel between Eph. i. 19—23; ii. 1—5, and Col. ii. 12, 13.

² ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, Eph. i. 10.

³ When the difference is barely perceptible, yet the excess over in the one passage "with fear and trembling" (Eph. vi. 5) may be contrasted with the excess over in the other "fearing God" (Col. iii. 22), and with similar effect to the above, by the light of 2 Cor. vii. 15 and Phil. ii. 12, 13.

Eph. i. 19, &c.

“To us-ward who believe, according to the *working* (ἐνέργειαν) of His mighty power, which He wrought in Christ, when He *raised Him from the dead*,

“(And set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality &c. . . . and gave Him to be the head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all).

“And you hath He quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins; (wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others.

“But God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us,

“*Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ.*”

Col. ii. 12, 13.

“Through the faith of the *operation* (ἐνεργείας) of God, who hath *raised Him from the dead*.

“*And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath He quickened together with Him.*”

“Out of the long quotation from the Ephesians, take away the parentheses and you have left” (as Paley says) “a sentence almost in terms the same as the short quotation from the Colossians.” But if the Ephesian Epistle in this

and other places seem to fill up the Colossian outline, or the Colossian appear the abstract simplifying the impassioned eloquence to the Ephesians, it does not follow that such repetition was unnecessary in one Epistolary system. Paley says, it was St. Paul's manner to enlarge upon incidental thoughts by the way, and that here the thread of his discourse is interrupted, "the first time by a view which breaks in upon his mind of the exaltation of Christ, and the second time by a description of heathen depravity." Agreed. But then, the doctrine of Christ's exaltation might require recapitulation; the recollection of their heathen depravity proved their deadness in sin prior to the Christian covenant. To those who had read the previous Epistles, such would be the sense attached to the Colossian expressions, as well as the drift of the Ephesian parentheses. The first contains the creed of the "operation of God," the second explains the reality of "the uncircumcision of the flesh." Both these are issues of the argument which is common to the Epistles; the second man's exaltation; the first man's deadness consequent on the carnal nature of both Jews and Gentiles. To one in whose mind that general argument weighed, there would be the greater force in single terms used in the prior epistolary system; to one who neglected previous admonition, the fuller recapitulation of the argument was necessary. If the Judaizing adult could appreciate the compactness of the final summary, the Gentile stranger could make more use of the parenthetical Epistle as his first and last survey of Christian doctrine. In no other but the same author's mind could there occur such a natural intermixture of "ideas rising up at the time;" yet these ideas were not allowed to rise up irrespective of the design in hand, or of the parties addressed, or of the general system of his Epistles.

VIII. The last two parallels will show that *partial repetition* is explicable upon principles which admit both the

arguments from designed and undesigned coincidences. They are instances upon which Paley places more reliance than upon the former class of a more carefully adjusted agreement, because “*partial* resemblance is only to be met with where no imitation is designed.” If there be any inconsistency with the design of a common system among the Epistles, it is not in Paley’s parallels, but in his attributing the mixture of sameness and variety in the language of St. Paul entirely to accident. These two Epistles are too exactly supplemental to each other for a suspicion of either accident or forgery. But if it would indeed be inconsistent with a common system among the Epistles, for such a parallel as Eph. iv. 22—24 with Col. iii. 9, 10, to arise merely from terms “still floating in the Apostle’s memory;” and if there were “no studied recollection employed” in the likeness of Eph. v. 6—8 to Col. iii. 6—8; Paley’s explanations must be confronted with the evidences of precision and common purpose which these very instances supply. From Col. iii. 6—10, we find the modification “sometime when ye lived in them” applied to the deeds of the Colossians, as if they therefore lived in such sin no longer: of these, the *renewal* was to be furthermore unto knowledge (εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν). On the other hand, the quality which was already evinced, and that which was still required in the Christian character, are reversed to the Ephesians: the end of renewal is unto holiness⁴: they thought they had light, let them walk in it⁵. But here Paley, to prove the absence of study by the resemblance being partial, remarks: “half of the sentiment—is expressed in identical words.” He speaks of the phrase “for which things’ sake, the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience” (ἀπειθείας). But had not the previous Epistles the same double drift, “to conclude all in unbelief” (ἀπείθειαν)⁶? Now,

⁴ Eph. iv. 22—24.⁵ Ib. v. 6—8.⁶ Rom. xi. 32.

therefore, the same two parties require to be reminded of it alike.

In the midst of these supplemental parallels, another significant diversity occurs. Eph. v. 5 speaks of a "covetous man who is an idolater," as if they were liable to be classed with the idolatrous; Col. iii. 5 speaks of "covetousness, which is idolatry," as if they could commit the offence while they repudiated the name.

Upon the same principles we may explain Paley's other instances of *partial* remembrance. In Col. iv. 5, "Walk in wisdom toward them that are without ($\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\omega$), redeeming the time," compared with Eph. v. 15, 16, "See then that ye walk circumspectly ($\alpha\kappa\rho\iota\beta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$), not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time;" there is something more than "precisely the same idea" intended to be conveyed by $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\omega$, and $\alpha\kappa\rho\iota\beta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. For the first means only those external to a body of exclusives, the second includes every one external to the person addressed. Remembering the opportunity still left for "teaching every man his neighbour," both they who could be looked upon "as fools⁷," and they who could talk of "them that are without⁸," must alike redeem the time. The one therefore (to go to Paley's next instance) must pray that St. Paul "open his mouth boldly⁹," the other, that "a door" of communication be opened unto him¹⁰.

If the individualities of these two Epistles were not minutely preserved, we should not find charity styled "the bond of peace" in one¹, and "the bond of perfectness" in the other²; the Greek form in one, $\tau\eta\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ ³, the Hebrew idiom in the other, $\alpha\upsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ⁴, and the parts unbalanced (in Paley's parallel of Eph. iv. 32 with Col. iii. 13), "evil speaking with all

⁷ Eph. v. 15.

⁸ Col. iv. 5.

⁹ Eph. vi. 19.

¹⁰ Col. iv. 3.

¹ Eph. iv. 3.

² Col. iii. 14.

³ Eph. iv. 16.

⁴ Col. ii. 19.

malice" in the one, in place of "if any man have a quarrel against any" in the other, according as conciliation must be cultivated, or ancient prejudices dropped. But here we have exhausted Paley's instances. To argue from such instances of partial resemblance that *no* imitation was designed, is to make the writing of such an Epistle a less elaborate task than Paley would have considered it, with or without the other Epistle before him. The singularity of the reason for the diversities, and their belonging as a property of the composition to their own Epistle, prove by his own instances, that there was more design in the coincidences of these two Epistles than he has admitted, a great precision and purpose in their supplemental construction.

IX. Having seen a special design running through the most nearly identical as well as the most distinct passages of the two Epistles, suited to the special qualities of the two different parties addressed, it only remains to show, in the doctrine of both, a purpose common to the general Epistolary argument, by adding two of their supplemental continuations of particular points of other Epistles.

The Epistle to the Hebrews and the first Epistle to the Corinthians were brought near to one another⁵ by having, in common, metaphors taken from the *wrestling* and *running* matches held in such honour, in more than one part of St. Paul's diocese; but one or other of these metaphors is found in each of his Epistles, keeping them all to this Isthmian group. If the Epistle to the Ephesians adopt the metaphor from *wrestling*, the supplemental Epistle to the Colossians may be expected to borrow its term from the *race*. Accordingly, the "taking the whole armour of God," is fully enlarged upon to the Ephesians, in order that they may wrestle against such as are not flesh and blood⁶. In this armour they are "to stand⁷." But the Colossians are

⁵ Par. XVI. of Chap. i.

⁶ Eph. vi. 10—17.

⁷ Ib. ver. 13.

exhorted by images derived from the other contest, the race, to run therefore against human competitors⁸. This idea is hid in the words *καταβραβεύέτω*, translated “beguile you of your reward⁹,” and *βραβεύέτω*, “rule¹,” because the prize (*βραβεῖον*) in the Christian race coming before us in an earlier Epistle²; here we have words derived from the title of the person who bestowed the prize. We have seen faith, hope, and charity united in the Epistles, and indeed in the two under present examination they are found together. But in Eph. iii. 17, faith is coupled with love, “that ye being rooted and grounded in love;” in Col. i. 23, with hope, “grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope.” The union of the two passages is like the union which was made between the Corinthian and Thessalonian developments of the Epistle to the Hebrews on the same article.

Again, therefore, we return to the conclusion that the topics in the Colossian and Ephesian Epistles are too minutely supplemental to each other, too well adapted for mutual explanation, as well as for the division of the epistolary argument, to be unintentional continuations of the Apostle’s previous correspondence.

⁸ The running contest found in the Colossian list of metaphors is the more appropriate to the Jewish opposition, for it is found in the Epistles of that class, the Galatian and Philippian for instance. There is a word used to the Hebrews which may be its origin (*ὑστερηκέναι*), to come late to the true rest (Heb. iv. 1, compare Rom. iii. 23).

⁹ Col. ii. 18.

¹ Ib. iii. 15.

² 1 Cor. ix. 24.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE RELATION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS TO OTHER EPISTLES.

I. THE principal point urged in the Epistle to the Philippians is, that each Christian must *empty* himself of his own peculiar advantages, in order to procure benefits to others, and so reduce the Christian society to the one mind of Christ.

The brightest example of such emptying of self was set by the Saviour: "Look not every man on his own things, but on the things of others. Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus¹:" and the result is seen in the things thereby brought into equality with the Divine.

Such, in a minor example, is the Apostle's counting of all his own natural position, *loss* for Christ: his forgetting of those things which were behind, in order that he might "press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus²."

Such community in other's good points the Apostle's congratulations to the Philippians, that it was given them, "in the behalf of Christ . . . to *suffer* for his sake³;" "that they were in bonds partakers of the Apostle's grace⁴;"

¹ Phil. ii. 4—11.

³ Ib. i. 29.

² Ib. iii. 4—14.

⁴ Ib. i. 7.

that, as at first, so now at the “last their care of him flourished again ⁵.”

Unity of Christian sentiment, by subjection of all things to Christ, the Apostle urges, and expects from such communication by giving and receiving, so that even the preaching of Christ, in pretence, is not without joy to him; his continued existence a furtherance of their unity ⁶, his danger for them a reciprocity of joy ⁷; if in any thing they be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even the perfect mind unto them ⁸. The last division of the Epistolary argument, in the Ephesian and Colossian Epistles, bringing their language to such an exact balance of censure against Jewish and heathen tendencies, required a single sequel. The very nearness of those two Epistles’ mutual approximation, displays the existence and equality of those opposite pretensions of which the Philippian Epistle aims to empty the Christian. This third Epistle, by assigning a reason for their being verbally supplemental to each other, crowns their double climax to the general system.

II. In reserving the Epistle to the Philippians to the last, we have had occasion to take little for granted in previous chapters, unless it be the succession of this Epistle to that to the Romans, which we in one place assumed without being able to anticipate all the proofs ⁹.

From the later chapters to the Romans, where the contrast of the Jew and Gentile is directed to provoke them to emulation ¹, we extract the following parallels with the Epistle to the Philippians: “Be not high-minded ²,” corresponding to “lowliness of mind ³,” “but fear,” corresponding to “fear and trembling ⁴,” “I say . . . to every man . . .

⁵ Phil. iv. 10.

⁸ Ib. iii. 15.

² Rom. xi. 20.

⁶ Ib. i. 27.

⁹ Chap. v. par. ii.

³ Phil. ii. 3.

⁷ Ib. ii. 17. 18.

¹ Ib. xi. 14.

⁴ Ib. ver. 12.

not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think⁵," corresponding to, "let each esteem others better than themselves⁶;" "be of the same mind one towards another, mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate⁷," corresponding to "whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing⁸."

Now, these coincidental exhortations are grounded upon like structure of doctrine; the example of the Saviour; to the Philippians, "If there be therefore any consolation (*παράκλησις*) in Christ . . . be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind . . . let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus⁹:" to the Romans, "The God of patience and consolation (*τῆς παρακλήσεως*) grant you to be likeminded one toward another according to Christ Jesus: that ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore receive ye one another, as Christ also received us to the glory of God¹."

This passage, from the very end of the Epistle to the Romans, is very like the one we have quoted from the beginning of that to the Philippians. But the latter part of the Philippian passage, "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow . . . and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father²," contains terms, the origin of which is in a text of Scripture quoted to the Romans: "For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to Me, and every tongue shall confess to God³."

III. On one other occasion, the Epistle to the Philippians has been mentioned out of its order, as containing a near

⁵ Rom. xii. 3.

⁸ Phil. iii. 16.

² Phil. ii. 10, 11.

⁶ Phil. ii. 3.

⁹ Ib. ii. 1—5.

³ Rom. xiv. 11.

⁷ Rom. xii. 16.

¹ Rom. xv. 5—7.

parallel to the second Epistle to the Corinthians, in opposing the Apostle's Jewish standing to that of others.

The distinction may now be made between these passages. To the Corinthians is set forth the intrusion of Judaizers into the titles of Christian ministers, their transformation into false Apostles; while the converse is held out to the Philippians, the Christian thrusting out the original holders of the Jewish vaunt, and himself claiming to be "the circumcision." We now see also, in the drift of the Philippian exhortation to make self of no reputation, that if the Christian minister's sufferings are enumerated to the Corinthians, it was for the Philippian Epistle studiously to omit them⁴, and all which the Apostle could not set aside as loss.

Closely allied as are the ironical *boast*⁵ and as ironical *confidence*⁶ in the flesh, of these two Epistles, the Roman argument⁷ must intervene, with the breaking off of the natural branches, and grafting in of the wild olive⁸. The Corinthian Epistle asks, "Are they Hebrews⁹?" and answers, "So am I;" not so the Philippian, but adds somewhat to the writer's claims, "An Hebrew of the Hebrews¹⁰." For the rest of these superior claims, the Roman Epistle must supply to us the earliest examination of those three, "The stock" of Israel¹¹, "the tribe of Benjamin¹²," "the zeal of God" to persecute¹³; while the Roman, Ephesian, and Colossian must all enter into the refutation of eighth day circumcision¹; and justify its new name to the Philippians, the Concision². One cannot but remark the climax of this transfer of all Jewish claims to Christian believers; the Jew's boast is taken out of his own mouth, it being said

⁴ Phil. iii. 13.

⁷ Rom. ii. 17, 19.

¹⁰ Phil. iii. 5.

¹³ Ib. x. 2.

² Phil. iii. 2.

⁵ 2 Cor. xi. 18.

⁸ Rom. xi. 18—20.

¹¹ Rom. ix. 5, &c.

¹ Rom. ii. 28, 29; Col. ii. 11; Eph. ii. 11.

⁶ Phil. iii. 4.

⁹ 2 Cor. xi. 22.

¹² Ib. xi. 1.

of him to the Romans, “Thou approvest the things that are more excellent (δοκιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα)³ ;” and now the Apostle, secure of being understood, prays for the Philippian Christians, so that they may “approve things that are excellent,” εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα⁴.

IV. There is one other sentence to the Philippians which needs some comment, occurring as it does in an Epistle which we have seen other reasons to place last of a series, more or less referring to the Gentile contribution. “Now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the Gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, (εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήψεως) but ye only⁵.” It is something to find in an Epistle, written after the contributions of Macedonia had been taken to Jerusalem, such a retrospect to the earliest interchange between the teacher and the taught, and the same parties still engaged in producing this “equality⁶.” Something besides preaching in Europe seems intended by the words, “beginning of the Gospel,” used in connexion with this test of communion, and by way of paraphrase to the departure from Macedonia. This part of his progress has more than once supplied the Apostle with a date⁷, and been the prelude to visits to Corinth. It agrees with the Philippians’ having had proof (δοκιμὴν)⁸ of Timothy, that Timothy had been sent on missions by the Apostle; and the universal character of the Gospel might be declared in consequence of the decree at Jerusalem or the divided mission of the Apostles. There is no obvious anachronism in supposing the Gospel-like Epistle to the Hebrews to have been written about some such former epoch of the Apostle’s life; but it is scarcely possible to

³ Rom. ii. 18.⁴ Phil. i. 10.⁵ Ib. iv. 15.⁶ 2 Cor. viii. 13.⁷ Ib. i. 16 ; 1 Cor. xvi. 5.⁸ Phil. ii. 22.

suppose him to address, in the language of that Epistle, those Hebrews whom he had gradually disabused of their old pretensions, and in his Epistles supplanted by the spiritual seed, while himself claiming to be “the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles . . . that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable⁹,” and himself expecting to “be offered upon the sacrifice and service of their faith¹⁰.”

⁹ Rom. xv. 16.

¹⁰ Phil. ii. 17.

THE END.

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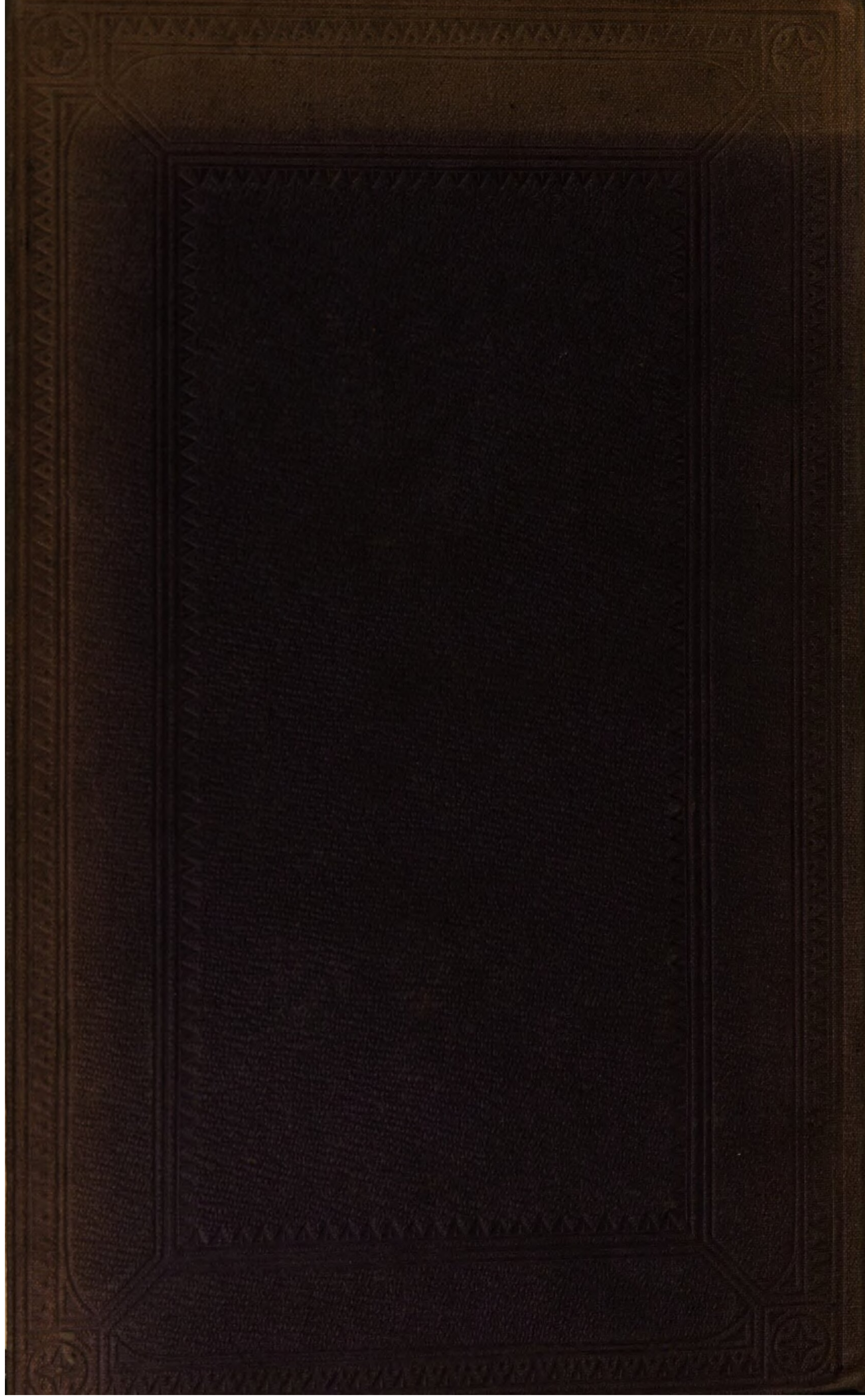
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